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WOISIKA I
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC INTRODUCTION

by

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TO HETTY

PRAKATA

Karangan kecil ini terjadi dari catatan-catatan non-linguistik sewaktu penelitian lapangan di daerah bahasa Woisika (Pulau Alor, Nusa Tenggara Timur). Walaupun data yang disajikan di sini masih jauh dari sempurna, namun saya ingin menerbitkannya berdasarkan dua pertimbangan yang disebut di bawah ini:

Bahaya bahwa kebudayaan suku bangsa kecil berangkali akan lenyap

Akibat pengaruh modernisasi yang intensif angkatan muda pada umumnya kurang menaruh perhatian kepada anasir pokok kebudayaan/peradaban daerah. Dengan adanya penyebaran bahan deskriptif ini diharapkan supaya kaum muda tertarik lagi kepada kebudayaan nenek moyangnya, dan supaya juga digaris-bawahi kepentingan pengolahan, sistematisasi dan penelitian data kulturil dari sukubangsa-sukubangsa yang kecil itu. Karena itu hasil-hasil sederhana penelitian itu dapat dirasakan kegunaanya secara langsung atau tak-langsung oleh khalayak ramai, terutama oleh para pemuka dan pemimpin-pemimpinnya yang dapat memberi bimbingan yang tepat dalam soal-soal kebudayaan dll.

Relasi antara kebudayaan dan bahasa

Bahasa termasuk kebudayaan dan di lain pihak juga berfungsi sebagai pendukung dan pengungkapan terutama segala aspek kebudayaan itu. Untuk memudahkan tugas penyelidikan, linguist harus mempunyai pengetahuan dasar tentang cara bagaimana pokok-pokok yang universal direalisasikan/diaktualisasikan di dalam masyarakat yang menggunakan bahasa yang sedang diteliti itu. Ahli bahasa yang ingin menentukan arti tuturan-tuturan yang ditemuinya harus mendasarkan uraian semantisnya atas pengetahuan tersebut. Dengan menerbitkan data kebudayaan sekedarnya para pembaca diharapkan dapat menempatkan bahan-bahan linguistik yang kami rencanakan menerbitkannya dalam konteks kulturilnya.

Dalam monograf ini diberikan satu deskripsi singkat mengenai pokok-pokok yang tersebut di bawah ini:

Identifikasi, lingkungan alam, data kuantitatif dan administratif.
 Relasi antara bahasa daerah, peranan bahasa Indonesia.
 Pendidikan, kesehatan, ciri-ciri fisik.
 Mata pencaharian hidup, perumahan, perkampungan, kesenian.
 Sistem istilah kekerabatan.
 Peristiwa-peristiwa dari lingkungan hidup individu, dll.

Sebagai tambahan dapat dimuat:

- I peta administratif kepulauan Alor dengan kota dan kampung yang penting dengan daftar namanya.
- II Peta distribusi bahasa-bahasa.
- III Peta distribusi dialek-dialek bahasa Woisika dengan kampung yang penting dengan daftar namanya.
- IV Daftar nama moko-moko dalam bahasa Woisika.
- V Daftar namadiri.

Dalam rangka penelitian keadaan bahasa di kepulauan Alor ini yang dibiayai oleh Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (grant W38-7) sudah diterbitkan atau akan diterbitkan dalam waktu singkat karangan-karangan berikut:

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GOMANG, H.D.R., G. LUMBAKAANA, H. STEINHAEUER and L. SULUWETANG

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1975 *Preliminary Notes on the Alor and Pantar Languages (East Indonesia)*. *Pacific Linguistics* B-43.

Forth-coming *Woisika II: Phonetics and Phonemics*. *Pacific Linguistics*.

Tentu saja apa yang tercantum dalam monograf ini bukan merupakan pengetahuan sempurna, tetapi hanya merupakan deskripsi sementara saja tentang kebudayaan pemakai-pemakai bahasa Woisika itu, dan dimaksudkan

sebagai suatu pengantar etnografis dari tangan seorang ahli bahasa yang berminat besar pada segala gejala kebudayaan. Justru karena itu catatan-catatan ini mungkin tidak luput dari kekurangan. Saran dan teguran demi perbaikan karangan ini dari mana pun datanginya akan disambut dengan segala senang hati.

Si pengarang ingin mengucapkan terima kasih kepada semua pihak yang telah memberikan bantuan dalam arti seluas-luasnya, dalam semua fase dari penyelesaian karangan ini. Terutama kepada orang-orang Woisika yang menganggap saya keluarga saya mengucapkan ilil kang!

W.A.L. Stokhof

1975

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0. INTRODUCTION

This paper is intended to be the first in a small series on the Woisika['wɔysika]¹ language (Central Alor), which will primarily deal with linguistic data.²

Since general information about the culture and the people whose language is going to be described is considered to be essential for a more complete understanding of that language, the aim of this paper is to offer some administrative and ethnographic data. This introductory paper is seen to be all the more justified because the Woisika people are at present in a state of transition: many of their old traditions are lost, few of the old storytellers remain and their mountain villages are now deserted.

The following items will be discussed:

1. Geographic and Linguistic Identification
2. Administrative and Dialectal Details
3. Subsistence
4. Villages, Housing
5. Handicrafts, Art etc.
6. Social Organization
7. Religion
8. The Life Cycle

Included is a map giving the distribution of the Alor and Pantar languages (Map I), a map on the approximate dialectal distribution of the Woisika language (Map II) and a map indicating the administrative units and the most important villages (Map III). Three appendices have been added: (1) a list of proper names, (2) a sample of the language (3) a family tree.

1. GEOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION

1.1. THE ENVIRONMENT

The Woisika language (W) is spoken on the island of Alor, which together with Pantar and Pura lies north of Timor (Lesser Sunda Islands), East Indonesia.

Alor is very mountainous: it consists of a collection of ridges, clefts and gorges, with only a few plains, for example the north-east coast of Kabola (in the neighbourhood of Kokar), and areas near Bukapiting (north coast of Alor), Adagai (*ibidem*), Kolana (east coast), and near the capital Kalabahi. It shows recent volcanic deposits, and hot springs are found in Lembur and Kolana. In places corallite is attested. The highest mountain is approximately 1750 meters high (Gunung Potomana). The original villages in the area under investigation are built in very high isolated places. The paths are narrow and slippery and lead sometimes along steep precipices. During the wet season (north-west monsoon: December-March/April) they are very dangerous for inexperienced walkers and, being overgrown with dense, high vegetation, they become almost impassable.

1.2. OTHER LANGUAGES

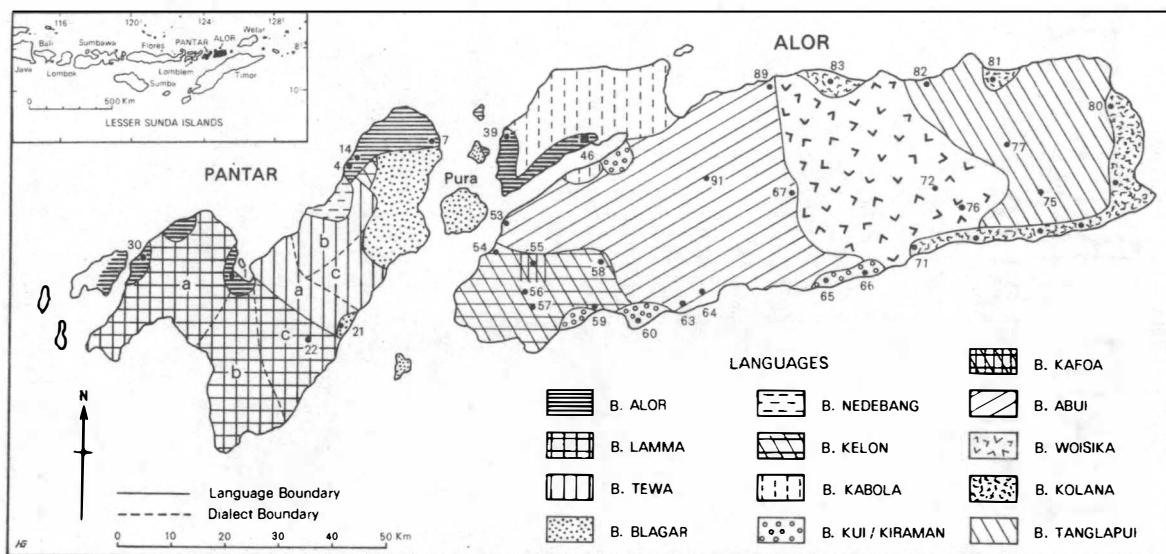
Apart from Woisika there are eight other languages spoken on Alor (see Map I)³: Kabola, Kelon(g), Kafoa, Abui, Kui/Kiraman(g), Tanglapui, Kolana and Alorese. The Indonesian language functions as *lingua franca*.

With the exception of Alorese which is identified as a variant of the Solor language (also called Lamaholot) the above mentioned languages are mutually related and belong, together with the languages spoken on Pantar and some neighbouring islands, to the Alor/Pantar group. This group shows lexical and typological affinities with several languages spoken on Timor (and Kisar: Oirata). This Timor/Alor complex shows similarities again with languages spoken in the Vogelkop Peninsula (Irian Jaya). For more detailed information see Stokhof 1975.

1.3. WOISIKA

1.3.1. Definition

The Woisika language is defined as the set of variants used by inhabitants of the area occupied by the *desas* Lembur Timur and Apui in the west, Sidabui, Silaipui and Langkuru in the south, Pido and Taramana in the east, and in the centre the *desa* Kamot and the important re-settlement *desa* Bukapiting [bu'kApitɪn].⁴



MAP I: LANGUAGES OF ALOR, PANTAR AND PURA

1.3.2. Variants

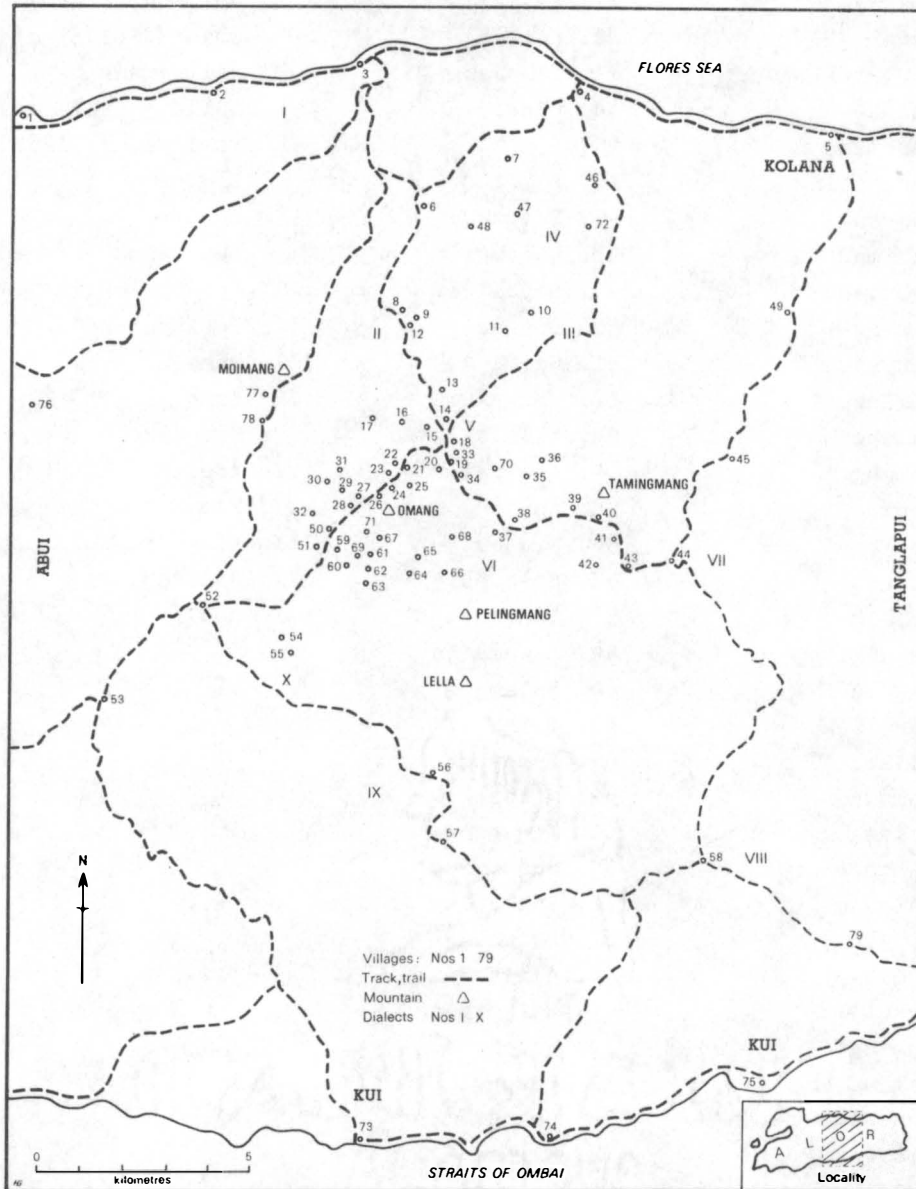
It falls out of the scope of this paper to give a detailed variant distribution of the Woisika language: a separate paper on the subject is in preparation. The extremely accidental terrain makes survey work difficult in the hot monsoon season and quite impossible in the wet season. Moreover, stimulated by the government, the Woisika people are now leaving their original hamlets on the mountain ridges and are moving to settlements on the more habitable plains thus creating larger villages with a mixture of inhabitants from the various areas within Woisika. A clear division of variants is rather difficult. Until now the following variants have been isolated:

I	Lembur	['ləmbur]
II	Petimpui	[fɛ'tɪnpuy]
III	Kamana	[kɑ'mana]
IV	Kamot	[kɑ'mɔt-]
V	Kamengmi	[kɑ'mɛŋmi]
VI	Ateita	[ɑ'teyta]
VII	Pido	['pɪdɔ]
VIII	Langkuru/Kolomana	[lɑŋ'kuru/kɔlɔ'mana]
IX	Silaipui	[si'ləypuy]
X	Apui	['Apuy]

(See Map II. The provisional variant division is based on information from informants plus lexical samples).

There are considerable differences between the variants. However, based on the criterion of mutual intelligibility they are considered to constitute one language. The basic variant chosen for description here is the Ateita variant (VI). To date, the following sub-divisions are known:

VI.1.1.	Pukeng	['puygɛŋ]
2.	Sinokila	[si'nɔkɪlaʔ]
VI.2.1.	Atomang	[ɑ'tɔmaŋ]
2.	Puimota	['puymɔtaʔ]
3.	Manegeng	['manɪŋ]
4.	Susuimang	[si'simaŋ]
5.	Molpui	['mɔlpuy]
VI.3.1.	Maumang	['mAwmaŋ]
2.	Takaikul	[tɑ'kaykul]
3.	Bilamang	['bilamaŋ]
4.	Puiwela	['puywɛlaʔ]



MAP II: THE WOISIKA LANGUAGE AREA⁵

LEGEND FOR MAP II

Villages

1. Likuwatang
2. Baum1
3. Letlei/Limbur
4. Adagai
5. Taramana
6. Bukapiting
7. Kamot
8. Petimpui
9. Labapang
10. Kamana
11. Maufai
12. Kamangpui
13. Pamako
14. Kamengmi
15. Kaumo
16. Baufo
17. Supai
18. Woisika
19. Kawahmi
20. Laupra
21. Karolsak
22. Pilama
23. Lamana
24. Domang
25. Lambeta
26. Saimang
27. Woilih
28. Ateita
29. Dawai
30. Sumang
31. Kamanapang
32. Manasamang
33. Sisawet
34. Puimang/Puimi
35. Esmana
36. Woikarong
37. Puimota
38. Atomang
39. Kalingtuk
40. Pukeng

Mountains

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 41. Sinokila | A Moimang (870 m) |
| 42. Leimang | B Omang (1087 m) |
| 43. Timomang | C Pelingmang (?) |
| 44. Pido | D Lella (1270 m) |
| 45. Alata | E Tamingmang (1268 m) |

Variants

- | | |
|----------------|------------------------|
| 48. Labapui | I Lembur |
| 49. Lapai | II Petimpui |
| 50. Butabai | III Kamana |
| 51. Waimi | IV Kamot |
| 52. Maikawada | V Kamengmi |
| 53. Kalaisi | VI Ateita |
| 54. Ateibai | VII Pido |
| 55. Apui | VIII Langkuru/Kolomana |
| 56. Sidabui | IX Silaipui |
| 57. Silaipui | X Apui |
| 58. Langkuru | |
| 59. Lawamaita | |
| 60. Bilamang | |
| 61. Takaikul | |
| 62. Maumang | |
| 63. Molpui | |
| 64. Manegeng | |
| 65. Susuimang | |
| 66. Muikameng | |
| 67. Puiwela | |
| 68. Adilau | |
| 69. Waikokmang | |
| 70. Watemana | |
| 71. Bukapui | |
| 72. Umang | |
| 73. Kिरaman(g) | |
| 74. Batulolong | |
| 75. Mademang | |
| 76. Atimelang | |
| 77. Silaimang | |
| 78. Bulmang | |
| 79. Kolomana | |

- VI.4.1. Ateita [a'teyta]
 2. Manasamang ['manasAman]
 3. Sumang ['sUman]
 4. Saimang ['sayman]
 VI.5.1. Domang ['doman]
 2. Lambeta ['lanbeyta]

My main informants originate from VI.2.3., with an additional informant from VI.3.1.

1.3.3. Number of Speakers

Based on the number of inhabitants within the *desa*'s mentioned in 1.3.1., there are approximately 12,000 people who speak Woisika.

Number of Inhabitants	Men	Women	Total
Lembur Timur	1,123	1,105	2,228
Apui	550	492	1,042
Sidabui	410	414	824
Silaipui	321	312	633
Langkuru/Kuneman	1,339	1,570	2,909
Pido	611	659	1,270
Kamot	518	495	1,013
Taramana	676	677	1,353
Bukapiting	1,206	1,609	2,375
	6,754	6,893	13,647

In Apui : approximately 75% speak W, 25% Abui.
 Sidabui : approximately 75% speak W, 25% Abui.
 Pido : approximately 80% speak W, 20% Tanglapui.
 Taramana : approximately 65% speak W, 35% Kolana, Alor and other languages.
 Lembur Timur: approximately 90% speak W, 10% Abui and other languages.
 The other *desa*'s: more than 95% W.

Small colonies of Woisika speakers have been found in Kalabahi (the capital of the island) in Kupang (approximately eighty men, two women: mostly secondary school pupils) and in Ujung Pandang.

1.4. BAHASA INDONESIA

In the plurilingual society of Alor and Pantar the national language, Bahasa Indonesia (BI) functions as the main means of communication

between the different language groups. It is the language used in the governmental offices in Kalabahi, in most churches and in families with parents from different areas. BI is introduced in the first class of the elementary school. In the Woisika area, however, the Woisika language is used on the administrative level and there are still many older people (forty-five years and over) who do not know Bahasa Indonesia. A considerable number of children and adolescents do not go to school, and therefore are not familiar with the language either. Nevertheless, during the period of this study there was a noticeable increase in both the influence and usage of BI; many modern words are of necessity borrowed. At home parents who have already received an (elementary) school education (in the Perwakilan kecamatan Alor Timor approximately 2,900 out of a total of 6,011 inhabitants) often help their younger children learn BI. They may sometimes use BI in moments of agitation, excitement and even when they are consoling or fondling their crying children, but mostly they are unaware of doing so. Besides BI, the Alorese language is used as a *lingua franca* in the western part of the Alor/Solor archipelago and the Kolana language in the eastern part of Alor (Woisika, Tanglapui).

Formerly both languages gained prestige because they were the native languages of the influential rajas of Kalabahi (Nampira) and Kolana (Makunimaoe), respectively. The Dutch language was of little importance here.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE AND DIALECTAL DETAILS

In the following sections emphasis is placed on the area which lies within the desa Woisika, where my informants Andreas Asafa (Manegeng), Johan Laure (*ibidem*) and Markus Mailau (Maumang) were born.

2.1. THE NAME

Woisika was in former days a bivouac from which Dutch soldiers and civil servants patrolled. They called the whole surrounding area and its villages, Woisika. These villages belonged to two different tumukung (heads of a group of villages) Kamengmi and Ateita, which both were under the authority of the raja of Kolana. The complete list of these villages is given below.

During Dutch colonial government the island of Alor was divided into so-called landschappen (regions), each with a more or less independent raja:

- (1) Alor (the north-western part of the island plus Pantar)
- (2) Kui and Mataru (the south-western part)
- (3) Kolana and Pureman (the eastern part)
- (4) Batulolong (the southern part).

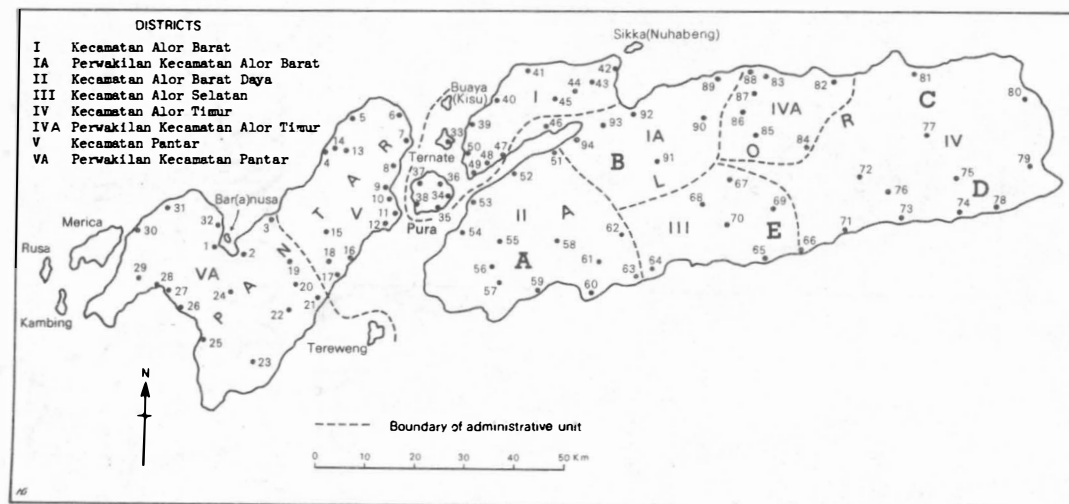
The raja was assisted by kapitan (heads of districts) who controlled the tumukung and the kepala (village heads). During the Japanese occupation a local elementary school was opened in Woisika. This encouraged the habit of using the name Woisika for the whole area, and the language used there.

tumukung Kamengmi		tumukung Ateita	
Kamengmi	[ka'menmi]	Saimang	['sayman]
Puamang	['puɣaman]	Sumang	['suman]
Woikurong	['woykurɔŋ]	Manasamang	['manasAman]
Esmang	['esmanɔ]	Ateita	[a'teyta]
Pamako	['pamakɔ]	Lawamaita	['lawamayta]
Laupra	['lawfa]	Woikokmang	['woykɔkman]
Puimi	['puymi]	Puiwela	['puywela?]
Puimang	['puyman]	Takaikul	[ta'kaykul]
Wataimana	[wa'temana]	Bilamang	[bi'lamang]
Lambeta	['lanbeyta]	Maumang	['mAwman]
Domang	['doman]	Manegeng	['manin]
		Susuimang	[si'siman]
		Adilau	[a'dilaw]
		Puimofa	['puymɔta?]
		Moikameng	['mɔykamɛŋ]
		Atomang	[a'tɔman]
		Pukeng	['puygɛŋ]
		Sinokila	[si'nɔkila?]

2.2. ADMINISTRATIVE/CIVIL ORGANIZATION

The Kabupaten Alor with its capital Kalabahi consists of several kecamatan and so-called perwakilan kecamatan (see Map III). For further details, see Stokhof 1975.

Our research area lies in the Perwakilan Kecamatan Alor Timur which together with the Kecamatan Alor Timur (approximately 910 km²) is inhabited by approximately 16,500 persons (approximately eighteen inhabitants per km²). The Perwakilan is organized into four desa with a total of 6,011 inhabitants:



MAP III: LOCALITIES AND ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

MAP III: LIST OF VILLAGES AND FORMER LANDSCHAPPEN (see 2.1.)

1. Blangmerang	41. Kokar	81. Takala
2. Benaang	42. Mali	82. Maukuru
3. Bagang	43. Tulta	83. Taramana
4. Kabir	44. Lawahing	84. Pido
5. Pandai	45. Pitumbang	85. Woisika
6. Manuseli	46. Kalabahi	86. Bukapiting
7. Lamahulu	47. Dulolong	87. Kamot
8. Tuwaabang	48. Ampera	88. Adagai
9. Bakalang	49. Alor Kecil	89. Letley
10. Kolijahi	50. Alor Besar	90. Awasi
11. Warsalelang	51. Moru	91. Atimelang
12. Abangniwang	52. Wolwal	92. Mebung
13. Panggar	53. Matap	93. Watatuku
14. Bajo	54. Lola	94. Welai
15. Sargang	55. Habolat	
16. Tamalabang	56. Probur	A. Kui, Mataru
17. Nuhawalla	57. Halerman	B. Alor
18. Lelangabang	58. Gendok	C. Kolana
19. Kakamauta	59. Buraga (Tribur)	D. Pureman
20. Airmama	60. Lerabaing	E. Batulolong
21. Toang	61. Biakbuku	
22. Mauta	62. Mataru	
23. Jeri	63. Eibiki (Mataru Selatan)	
24. Latuna	64. Pandangalang	
25. Ilmake	65. Batulolong (Kiramang)	
26. Puntaru	66. Sibera	
27. Bolowang	67. Apui	
28. Wolu	68. Kalaisi (Barat)	
29. Mobubaa	69. Silapui	
30. Kayang	70. Sidabui	
31. Beangonong	71. Mademang	
32. Kalabahi Wowang	72. Langkuru	
33. Bogakele	73. Peitoku (Purnama)	
34. Apuri	74. Pureman	
35. Retta	75. Salamana	
36. Harilolong	76. Kolomane (Mamper)	
37. Limarahing	77. Lantoka (Tanglapui)	
38. Bira	78. Erana	
39. Sebanjar	79. Maritaing	
40. Seeng	80. Kolana	

Age & Sex Desa	0-9	10-17	18-25	26-40	40>	Sub-total	Total
	m f	m f	m f	m f	m f	m f	
Woisika	277 240	215 208	212 185	289 318	213 218	1,206 1,169	= 2,375
Kamot	117 107	157 130	67 69	117 119	65 78	518 495	= 1,013
Pido	150 174	98 88	75 108	168 171	120 122	611 659	= 1,270
Taramana	182 176	112 102	110 119	153 139	119 141	676 677	= 1,353
Sub-Total	726 697	577 528	464 477	727 739	517 559	3,011 3,000	6,011
TOTAL	1,423	1,105	941	1,466	1,076	6,011	

2.3. THE DESA WOISIKA

The desa Woisika is divided into seven rukun kampung (RK), each consisting of two rukun tetangga (RT). In turn each RT has several villages:

RK	RT	kampung
1. Petimpui	1.1. Petimpui	1.1.1. Petimpui
		1.1.2. Kamangpui [ka'manpuy]
		1.1.3. Kaumo ['kawm0]
		1.1.4. Baufo ['bawf0]
	1.2. Labapang	1.2.1. Labapang [la'bApan]
		1.2.2. Supay [su'pay]
2. Kamana	2.1. Kamana	2.1.1. Kamana
		2.2.2. Maupai ['mawfay]
		2.2.3. Kawangpu [kα'wanpu]
3. Laupra	3.1. Laupra	3.1.1. Laupra
		3.1.2. Kawahmi [kα'wahmi]
	3.2. Puymang	3.2.1. Puimang
		3.2.2. Puimi
		3.2.3. Wataimana/Watamana
4. Lambeta	4.1. Lambeta	4.1.1. Lambeta
		4.1.2. Sisawet ['sisawet-]

RK	RT	kampong
	4.2. Domang	4.2.1. Domang 4.2.2. Pilama ['pilama?] 4.2.3. Karolsak [ka'rolsak-]
5. Ateita	5.1. Ateita (1)	5.1.1. Ateita 5.1.2. Manasamang 5.1.3. Sumang 5.1.4. Kamanapang [ka'manapan] 5.1.5. Dawoi ['dawoy]
	5.2. Ateita (2)	5.2.1. Saymang 5.2.2. Woilih ['woyli(h)] 5.2.3. Puiwela 5.2.4. Bukapui [bu'kapuy] 5.2.5. Takaikul 5.2.6. Bilamang [bi'laman] 5.2.7. Lawamaita [lawα'mayta?] 5.2.8. Woikokmang ['woykokman] 5.2.9. Maumang
6. Puimota	6.1. Puimota	6.1.1. Puimota 6.1.2. Atomang
	6.2. Buklelang [buk'lelan]	6.2.1. Manegeng 6.2.2. Susuimang 6.2.3. Adilau 6.2.4. Moikameng
7. Espu ['ɛspu]	7.1. Esman	7.1.1. Esmana 7.1.2. Woikurong
	7.2. Pukeng	7.2.1. Pukeng 7.2.2. Kalingtuk [ka'lintuk-] 7.2.3. Leimang ['leyman] 7.2.4. Sinokila

The head of a kecamatan is called in W ['lɛysAk-], the kepala desa [ta'muk-] (<BI tumukung), the head of an RK ['mane ka'pala], of a RT [man'lorα] (<BI mandor) and the head of a kampong is usually called ['mane 'yɛgafilɛn].

2.4. RESETTLEMENT

Bukapiting, the capital of the desa Woisika, and its surroundings are planned as the new domicile for the above-mentioned villages. In 1952 the first mountain dwellers settled in Bukapiting (from Petimpul, Kamana, Maupai, Labapang and Supai) because a first elementary school was opened by the Protestant church Gereja Masehi Injili Timor (GMIT).

The process of deserting the ancestral dwellings is still in progress. In many villages there are now only the aged who could not make the descent to the plain or who wish to die in their old homes. Since only some of the new-comers are granted ground for gardens, the majority must necessarily return once or twice a month to their old villages to collect the food reserves from the previous year. At present there are six elementary schools and one lower secondary school (SMP).

Those who want a more extensive education go to Kalabahi or Kupang and only a few of them return to their home land.

2.5. HEALTH, PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

The whole Kabupaten Alor (approximately 110,000 inhabitants) is supervised by one doctor and until recently he had not visited the Woisika area. There is a mantri kesehatan (medical assistant) who is however, dependent on Kalabahi for his supplies. The major diseases of the area are: struma, tuberculosis, skin diseases (including scabies), influenza, and especially in the plain where the resettlement lies, malaria. These diseases, and a general lack of hygiene and malnutrition, cause a considerable number of deaths amongst the former mountain dwellers.

The Woisika are, in general, small in stature, (my estimate is about: 160 cm.)⁶. Because of the mountainous terrain, they have developed particularly strong legs. They are excellent walkers and climbers and they can carry the heaviest burdens with ease and elegance. Their skin is very dark, although the women are often of lighter colouring than the men. The shape of the head varies between dolichocephalic and mesocephalic. Most of them have very woolly hair and large flat noses. Their lips are thick and often a little protruding. A characteristic of the physical appearance of the men is that their arms, and especially their legs, are quite hirsute.

3. SUBSISTENCE

3.1. AGRICULTURE

The greater part of the Woisika area is covered by alang-alang (*Kunni grass*) and Eucalyptus trees. Primary and secondary forests are

found only in the vicinity of the small rivers. The coastal area is alluvial whilst the soil in the mountains is mediterranean. Generally the ground is quite fertile but during the dry season there is a lack of water. The Wolsika are gardeners (the *perwakilan kecamatan Alor Timur* has 125 civil servants, two Chinese merchants - the rest are directly dependent on agriculture). They practice agriculture by the slash and burn technique. Each ['ataman] i.e. small patrilineal clan, has its own specific areas set aside for cultivation. In consultation with the head of the clan [sAk 'yeidama] (who is sometimes also the head of the village) plots are selected for planting. At the beginning of August they clear these areas, cut the grass and small bushes [fi'nin tAk-] 'to cut the ground' with machetes ['kine] and the higher trees are girdled ([bɔŋ ba'kɛ]) by cutting a ring through the bark and cambium layer. Everything is left to dry during September (this is called ['du bika?]) and then burnt in October ['kow wɔt-] 'to burn the residue'. At the end of October/beginning of November, rice is planted [bAt 'tafɛ?] by poking holes in the ground with a [tə'fɔra bɔŋ], an iron pointed stick. Depending on the former vegetation, weeding [sak ə'bah] is done two or three times, the first in December and again during March. The harvest (['gAnma]) occurs in April and May.

The Wolsika clear a new area every two years. The first year [tun 'kan] 'the good year', the ground is used for rice ([A]) cultivation and during the second year [tun 'bɔkɔ] 'the bad year', corn ([pa'tey]) is planted. The burning and clearing is done by the owner of the plot and his wife and children. Planting by the whole village; harvesting, collecting and storing is done on a co-operative basis (BI *gotong royong*), and after harvesting each helper is paid one basket ['sɔmA] of unhusked rice [Afa'taka] (approximately 2 kilos).

Rice and maize are relatively new crops which were introduced by the immigrant Muslim inhabitants of the coastal areas. Other plants grown are: Coffee ['kɔpi] (BI *kopi*), copra ['wate'sakta], tobacco [tə'bak-] (BI *tabak*), millet [si'bay], kapok [mɔl], eggplants [tə'rɔŋ] (BI *terong*), tomatoes [tɔ'mat], pumpkins [a'rA], many types of beans [ta'rA], sugar-cane ['kamA], bananas [mɔy], pineapple [a'riari], pawpaw ['mɔybɔŋ], jackfruit [tɔn], red peppers ['pɔlɔka?], bird's eye chillies ['lɔka?], sirih and pinang ['maysi], [ba'ka], and tubers (taro [ma'kay], sweet potatoes [bi'lɛl], cassava [kɔ]). Tubers are usually grown in the immediate vicinity of the houses, where the ground is more intensively worked (with the [tə'fɔra bɔŋ], also called ['bɔŋkine] and ['paysul] (<BI *pacul*) 'hoe'. In the plain between Bukapiting - Lembur wet-rice agriculture is being developed.

3.2. HUNTING, GATHERING AND FISHING

3.2.1. Hunting

To supplement their predominantly vegetarian diet the men hunt in the mountains where great numbers of deer [awh] and wild pigs ['sak-pɛ] are found. Birds and mice are also caught (the latter being especially eaten by the older people), and occasionally a *Python reticulatus* ['labɛ bAy], the skin of which is sold to Chinese merchants. The following implements are used in hunting: Bow and arrow ['m0wilɪŋ], spears ['kapA], traps ['bɔŋ 'laka?], snares ['kapɛ 'laka?] and pitfalls [sU].

The hunt may be a communal affair with participants from many kampongs, huntchiefs, beaters, numerous dogs etc., but mostly the Woisika hunt on their own or in small groups. The number of animals caught depends wholly on the skill and energy of the hunter. When there are several participants in the chase [i'sey w0] the work is divided: some are beaters with dogs ['kuy pil], others (hunters, [i'paypa]) use their weapons. The beaters often bring bows as well. Distribution of the kill is regulated by custom; the owner of the dog, the shooter and the carrier of the game each hold particular rights. The game belongs to the dog which discovers it and barks. When the dog only chases the game but does not bark then the hunter who first wounds the deer/pig is the owner. If the master of the dog, or the man who was first to shoot, does not kill the game then the other hunters may try. If the master of the dog claims ownership he gives one thigh to the first shooter (who may or may not be himself). In the case of several shooters the first shooter has to share it with the others. The men who carry the game home get the backpiece - the rest of the meat is divided amongst the participants, and the family of the owner. The owner himself keeps at least the following parts: the head with the neck and several [i'sey fɔy] 'tabu parts', which may only be eaten by the owner, i.e.: the left groin [gə'wita?], the heart ['yɛmɯhɯŋ]⁷, the left cheek [gə'p0], the meat of the left armpit [gə'kɪ suku], the spleen [gə'pɛtə], the under and upper jaws [gə'wA 'kAtə] with the lips [gə'wA baka 'wɔbɛlə] and the tongue [gə'key]. Some families consider the same parts of the right-hand side to be also tabu. These tabu parts are put in a bamboo container [tə'bA] which is closed and laid in a wood fire until its contents are done. This way of food preparation is called [bə'lɛn). The parts are then given to the owner of the game, the dog, the master of the dog or the shooter(s). In former days the owner hung the jawbones in the interior of his large ancestral home, saying: [ʔalak- ɛŋ 'ɛnɔkle 'tAwmi 'tAwmi 'wɔyti mɛɛ 'alak ʔnɛŋdə] "you here, call your friends from everywhere let them come and keep you company".

FIGURE 1

['tat-bən] 'trap for wild pigs'

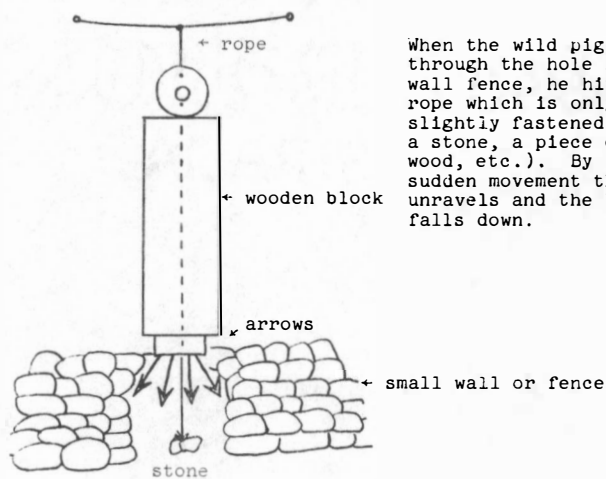
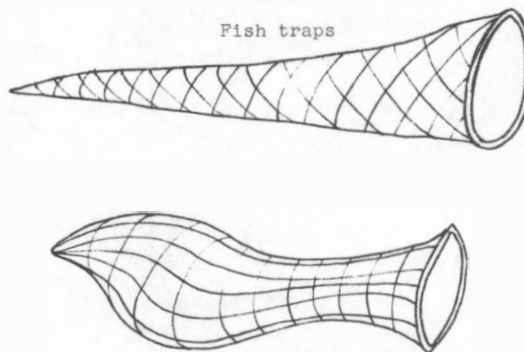


FIGURE 2

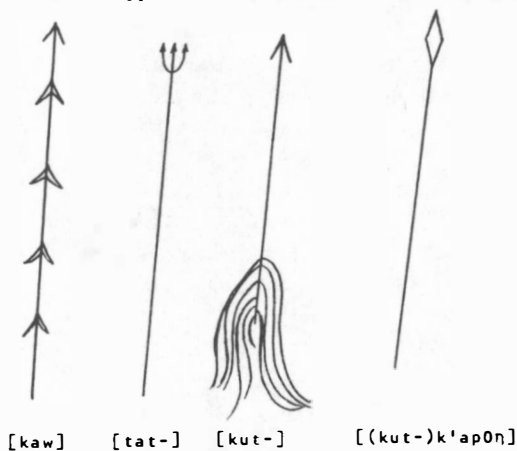
Fish traps



[sA] or ['sAfa]

FIGURE 3

Different types of arrows used in the Woisika area



The Woisika do not know how to tan. The skins are sometimes used to make drumheads. Below follows the list of terms for deer:

- [awh] deer
- ['awh dum] fawn
- ['awh lam] stag
- [awh 'malɛ] hind
- [awh ga'mu la'paŋ] a deer with big antlers
- [ləku'wayla] deer, older than fawn, no antlers (BI kancil)
- [tə'puy ga'taŋ] deer with two-tined antlers ('hands of the crab')
- [tu'kuy 'Esu?] deer older than a [tə'puy ga'taŋ] but younger than a
[ki'wi 'bəkɔ] ('three chambers of the bamboo culm')
- [ki'wi 'bəkɔ] deer with four-tined antlers ('bad hook')
- [ki'wi kaŋ] deer with six-tined antlers ('good hook')
- [ki'wi kaŋ 'laysɔraŋ] deer with eight-tined antlers ('(a) good,
smooth, ascending hook')
- ['pumawaŋ(ka)] deer with ten or twelve-tined antlers ('stick to
shake the fruits off the banyan-tree')

3.2.2. Gathering

In addition to cultivated agricultural products the Woisika also gather wild nuts: kenari (*Canarium communis*) [kə'nal], kemiri (*Aleurites moluccana*) ['waybilɛ], damar [ə'raŋ bɔŋ] (a type of kemiri), fruit from the Tamarind ['puma?] and edible fungi [wA].

3.2.3. Fishing [ap-'fAh]

In the small mountain rivers fish are scarce. In the larger rivers they sometimes set traps [sA]. Small shrimps [ɔx], eels [lu'mey] and a fresh water fish called ['makaw] are caught. Other devices are nets ['yala] (<BI jala) and rod and line [wə'nɛ].

3.3. PREPARATION OF FOOD

Meat can be dried in the sun [i'seyma 'wɔbA 'awka] or smoked over a fire [i'seyma 'wɔbA 'wɔsak-], the latter procedure is also used for tubers. Food is prepared in the following ways:

- [tAm or 'wuŋ tAm] cooked
- ['idɛ?] baked

[ka'lel] fried

['sutla/'tutla] roasted in hot ashes (especially tubers)

[i'tok-] a method by where food is put in an earthenware pan,
which is closed, placed upside down in the fire and
then covered with hot ashes

[ba'len] see 3.2.1.

In addition there is another procedure for which there is no term in W: a hole is made in the ground, filled with bananas, tubers and fruits, covered with earth. A fire is then built on top of it.

4. VILLAGES, HOUSING, etc.

4.1. VILLAGES

As far as could be ascertained from the remains, most of the old mountain villages contained between five and fifteen dwellings, granaries etc. The form of the village was conditioned by the shape of the mountain ridge. All of them were surrounded by a fence [ba] of bamboo, stone, etc.

Included in this paper is a reconstruction of the deserted village Manegeng (Figure 4). In the village there were three clans ['ataman]: ['lonwah] 1, ['lonwah] 2, and ['kolwah]. ['lonwah] 1 and ['lonwah] 2 shared one communal dance place ['mayta?]. This, and the fact that the names are identical implies that both are descended from the same ancestor. The ['mayta?] usually has a name of its own, in this case ['lonmayta?]. The ['lonwah] 1 named his house after its founder - a practice common amongst the Woisika generally. However, the ['lonwah] 2 named their dwellings after a, more recent, descendant of the founder ['wanwah]. The second part of the village belongs to the ['kolwah] who have their own ['mayta?]: ['kolmayta?]. The suffix [wah] means 'originating from' and tradition has it that the ['lonwah] and the ['kolwah] took their names from ['lonAk-] and ['kolAk-], respectively. This implies that the originators were women, because both [lon] and [kol] are prefixes found only in female names.

The dance-place was constructed of stone and was approximately 1-1.50 meters high with a diameter varying between 6 and 10 meters. On the ['mayta?] stood the [ku'rɔŋ ka'rɪ], a very simple open house made of bamboo and alang-alang. This was where the gongs [ku'rɔŋ] and the kettle drums ['wayma?] (BI mokko, see 8.3.3.) were placed during certain ceremonies. Often the ['mayta 'yɛkamen], a 50 cm. high, round construction of stones with a tall linguiform stone in the centre, was erected on the edge of the ['mayta?], sometimes in the gonghouse. This

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

- A graves.
- B a big storage house/granary also used as a dwelling, called [al'maŋ bAy] with a very high thatched double pitched and gabled roof [kara al'maŋ].
- C a big storage house [al'maŋ bAy] also used as a dwelling, with a four-sided pyramidal thatched roof [ux al'maŋ].
- D a small storage house [al'maŋ ki'diŋ] also used as a dwelling, with a double pitched roof. This type of construction is also called [bi'lii al'maŋ] when it is used for seed and tuber storage.
- E1 a small rectangular family dwelling made of bamboo with a thatched double pitched and gable roof, called [pi'raŋ] or [pi'raŋ ka'ri].
- E2 same as E1 but especially reserved for sacred objects brought to the village by the ['lonwah] suku : it was called [wa'tewah].
- F [ku'raŋ ka'ri] 'gonghouse'
- G [('mayta γε)kameŋ] 'kota pemali'
- H1 ['mayta?] dance place for clan members only
- H2 ['mayta?] communal dance place

[kɑ'mɛŋ] (also called ['mayta 'bɔkɔ]), was considered to be the domicile of the dead and it protected the members of the ['ataman]. It brought illness and sorrow to any other persons who entered the dance-place. In a village such as Manegeng, where several ['ataman] lived together, there was usually a communal dance-place in addition to the clan's own ['mayta']. Another example from within the Woisika area which had a similar arrangement is the village of Saimang. There were five clans: ['kɔlwah], ['lɔŋwah], ['wanwah], ['lɔtawah] and ['waybukA]. ['kɔlwah], ['lɔŋwah] and ['wanwah] had together one dance-place: [sa'mɛmayta?] because of common ancestors. This ['mayta?] had its own ['mayta 'bɔkɔ]: ['pɪ ɑ'litA] which was said to guarantee to inflict [tu 'wajɪ] 'leprosy' on non-clan members who dared to enter the dance-place. ['lɔtawah] had its own dance-place ['timayta?] and ['wanbukA] had one too ['kawaka mayta?]. All five ['ataman] shared a communal dancing place for village festivities. It was not given a name.

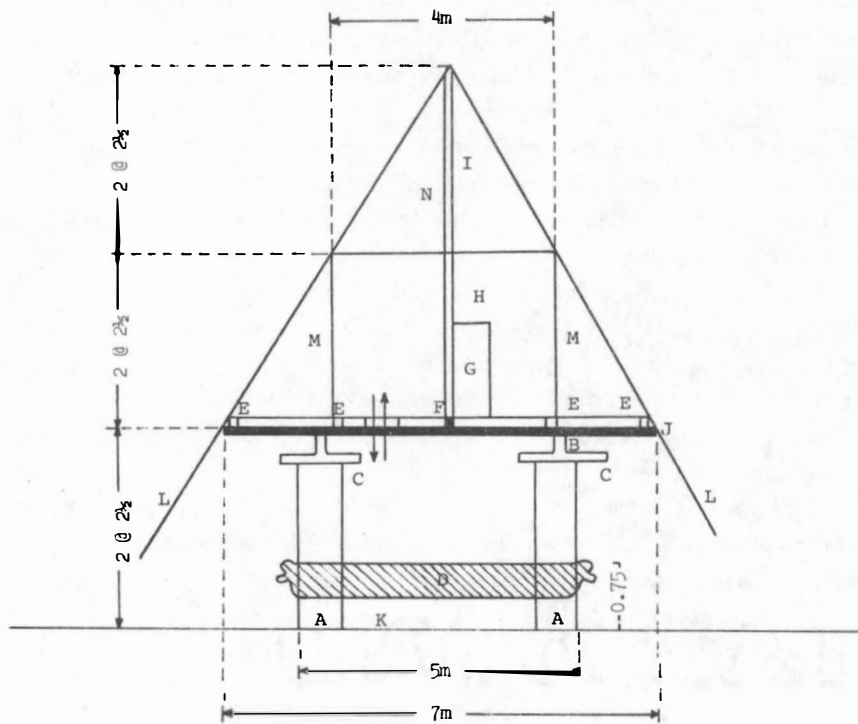
4.2. TRADITIONAL HOUSES

The most intriguing of the Woisika buildings are dwellings/granaries called [al'maŋ bAy], especially the [ka'ra al'maŋ] (see Figure 5). The main structure consists of four large posts ['Utɪŋ] (diameter 40-80 cm.) which extend 2-2.50 meters above ground level. They were placed at the corners of a rectangle (length 6 meters - width 5 meters). The diameter of the top of each of the poles is rebated to a depth of 30-50 cm., this is called ['Utɪŋ ga'maŋ], the neck of the post. A circular wooden collar (45-110 cm. in diameter) [fA] is fitted on the [ga'maŋ] as a protection against rats. Also at the end of each pole a semicircular slot ['Utɪŋ gaeh] is cut to take the cross beams ['saotA] (approximately 7 meters). Five longitudinal beams ['mulɛ] are tied on the two ['saotA]. The ['mulɛ] in the centre, also called ['saosaŋ] protrudes approximately 70 cm. at both ends and is often adorned with carved nagas (see Section 7.). Occasionally the other (shorter) ['mulɛ] are also carved. The spaces between the ['mulɛ] are filled with wooden planks [ka'raŋ] or ['balɔk-] (<BI balok). On this platform a rectangular bamboo [tɔn'bata] cabin [al'maŋ ix] is built (dimensions 5 x 4 x 2 meters); it is designed for storage and as a sleeping room for women and children.

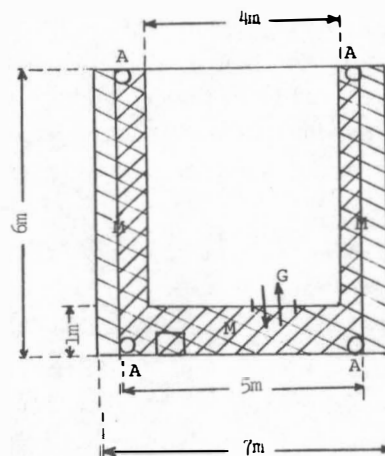
From the ['saosaŋ] at the two ends of the bamboo cabin, two uprights [ga'bumaŋ 'yewa?] support the ridgepole [ga'bumaŋ]. The large two-sided roof ['yewahka] is thatched [i'wah] to within approximately 1.50 cm. off the ground and in some cases touches the ['mayta?]. The space between the ridgebeam and ceiling of the bamboo cabin is called ['bara] and is used for the storing of the sacred objects ['ɔsaŋ pA], i.e. gongs and mokko.

FIGURE 5

Cross-section of a Woisika dwelling/granary [al'maŋ bAy]



A	['Utɪŋ]	F	['saosaŋ]	K	[lam 'yɛti]
B	['Utɪŋ ga'maŋ]	G	[a'win]	L	['yɛwahka]
C	[fA]	H	[al'maŋ ih]	M	[ga'paru]
D	[a'tiŋ ka'rɪ]	I	[ga'bumaŋ 'yɛwaʔ]	N	['bara]
E	['mulɛ]	J	['saota]		



Since the cabin is smaller than the platform on which it is built there are corridors [ga'paru] on three sides of it. The corridor on the shorter side is used to enter the cabin, the two longer corridors for the storage of food, household utensils etc. Between the main cornerposts approximately 75 cm. from the ground another platform is constructed of bamboo. The perimeter is built up with solid planks to a height of 50 cm. At the two longer sides the profile is often in the form of a canoe with naga heads on both ends⁸. This platform [a'tin ka'ri] or [bɔŋ ka'di] with a fireplace for men only [lam 'yɛti] is the centre of the daily life. During the day the people live on, and in the neighbourhood of, the [a'tin ka'ri], and at night the men may sleep there. The fireplace for women ['malɛ 'yɛti] is in the [al'maŋ ix] and warms the females and children during the cold mountain nights. Smoke holes are made by simply removing a piece of the [i'wah]. From the [a'tin ka'ri] a ladder [a'tin] leads to a hole [sũ'ku] in the floor of the shorter corridor. The windowless cabin itself is entered through a wooden door [a'win] - this is the only entrance; the front (i.e. where the entrance is) and the rear are covered with bamboo and alang-alang. The house is built without nails and only various types of vines are used such as [la'way], [mu'lila], [ma'kilin 'kapɛ].

4.3. THE BUILDING OF A HOUSE

It is obvious that the building of each dwelling demanded a considerable amount of money, time and labour. In former days when the head of an ['ataman] decided to build such a dwelling/granary he sent a messenger with a branch laden with Areca nuts to the neighbouring villages. He then informed the heads of the ['ataman] what the building's needs would be. During the cutting down of the trees to be used for the ['Utin] and the other posts, beams etc., the members of the inviting ['ataman], the ['lamta] and the ['dummalɛ] (see 8.4.1., no. 28 and 29) provided the labourers with sirih pinang, sugar-cane and coconuts, other food being tabu. When the work was over more substantial food was offered. The following types of wood were mentioned as ideal for the main posts ['Utin]:

['tAbɔŋ]	(BI Kayu pahlawan)	a type of Eucalyptus
[si'bey]	(BI Kayu merah)	mahogany
['fɔbɔŋ]	(BI Kayu putih)	a type of Eucalyptus

After cutting the wood was left to dry for a month or so. Then the head of the ['ataman] sent another branch of Areca nuts as a sign that the poles must be then brought in. This was called [ka'raŋ i'leɪ] 'to drag the beams'. During this phase only sirih pinang, sugar-cane and coconut

FIGURE 6

Naga

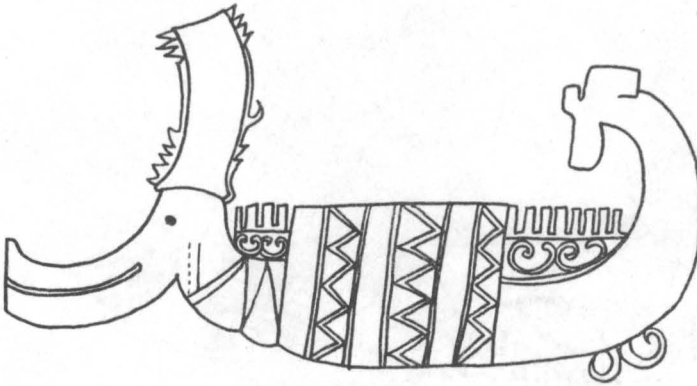


FIGURE 7

Naga

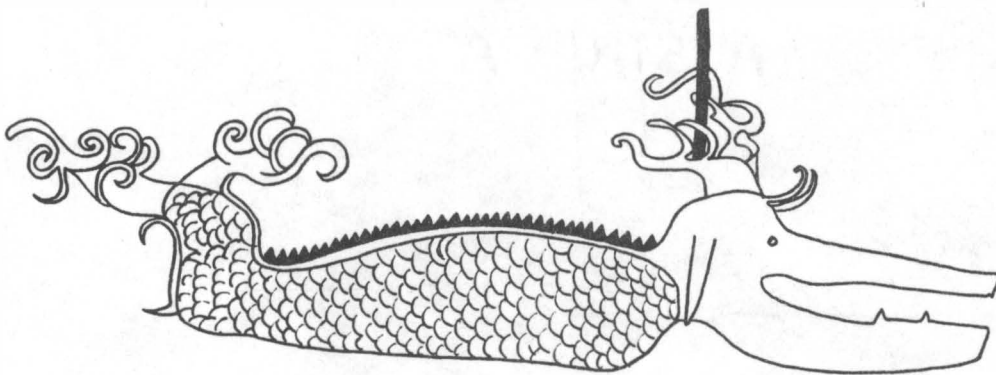
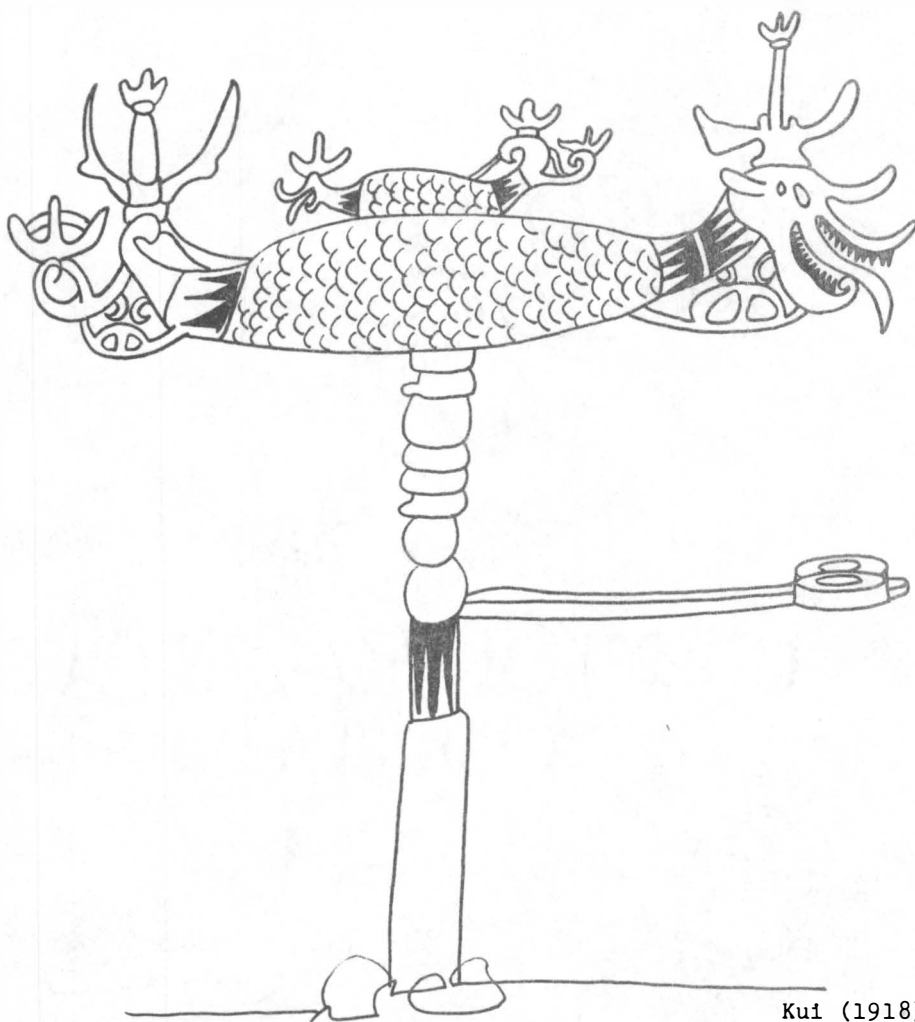


FIGURE 8

Naga



Kui (1918)

from: Nieuwenkamp 1925:54

was offered to the helpers. The following day the holes were dug for the ['Utɪŋ] and the posts were erected ['Utɪŋ mɛ mɪt-]. Thereafter a great feast was organized and the men danced the ritual lego-lego [pi'lan] (see 5.8.). The expenses for this were paid by the ['lamtɔ] and the ['dummalɛʔ] in the following way:

Each ['lamtɔ] contributed the same amount of goods, e.g. 12 bins of rice. If there was only one ['dummalɛʔ], she gave $1/2 \times 12$ bins = 6 bins. If there were two ['dummalɛʔ] the elder gave $2/3 \times 12$ bins = 8 bins, the younger $1/3 \times 12$ = 4 bins. If there were three ['dummalɛʔ], the eldest gave $3/4 \times 12$ bins = 9 bins, the second eldest $2/4 \times 12$ = 6 bins, the youngest 3 bins, etc.

After the feast the house was finished by the ['lamtɔ]. This could take a considerable time (one year or more). The last phase was the [i'wah gAy ga'rɛt-], the cutting of the edges of the roof. This was celebrated with another feast and another obligatory lego-lego was performed [i'wah gAy 'wɔpɪlan].

If during the construction the head of the ['ataman] died, the other ['lamtɔ] continued. However, if there were no other ['lamtɔ] remaining the work would not be completed. The ['dummalɛʔ] was not allowed to finish it, because the ['ataman] was considered to be extinguished.

There is a close relationship between the ['ataman], its ['maytaʔ] and its [al'maŋ bAy]. The latter is a link with the past; it reminds the members of the ['ataman] of their obligations to the dead. Its name enables the wise old men to trace the relationships between several clans. Usually the head of the ['ataman] and his wife and children lived in the granary. In this virilocal patrilineal (compound?) organization the ['lamtɔ] tended to congregate during the day around the [al'maŋ bAy] and its [lam 'yɛti]. In former days they slept in separate quarters, the men downstairs and the women upstairs. Today, in the resettlement no [al'maŋ bAy] is built and in the old village the families have separate small houses near their [al'maŋ bAy].

There are a number of tabus which related (and still relate) to these ancestral dwellings/granaries, e.g. in some cases it is prohibited for anyone to live in them, others cannot be used for the storage of rice or maize, while others can only be used by special members of the ['ataman], etc.

[al'ma bAy] are no longer built: in the already deserted villages they rot away, collapse and are overgrown by the wilderness. For the sake of completeness I mention three other houses/huts which I discovered:

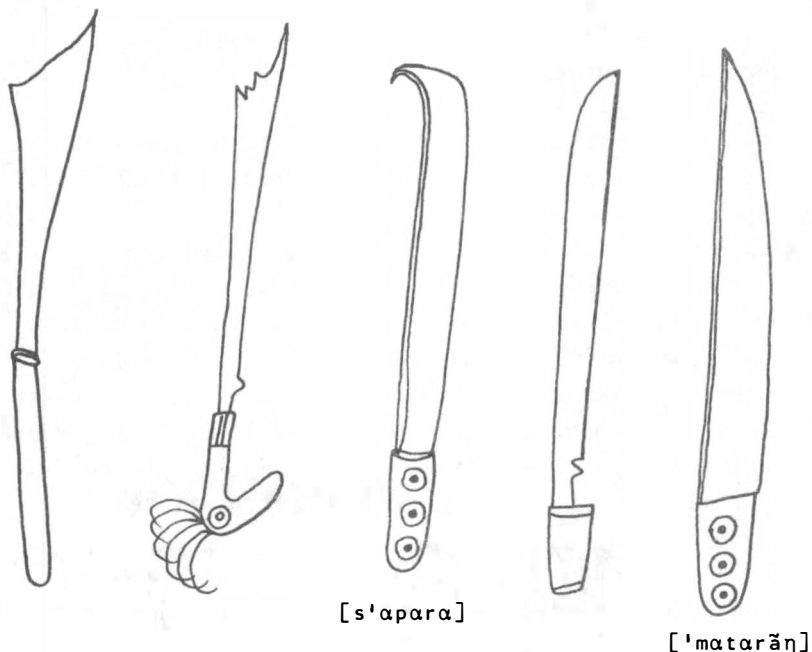
1. ['sɔbaʔ] a very plain temporary dwelling often with horizontal roof, built by farmers in gardens which lie far from the village. In busy times it enables the farmer to use the daylight as long as possible.
2. [ka'ri 'bɔntA] tree house. I saw only a few of these. They are used as sleeping places and for seed storage.
3. ['miɪA ka'ri] garden house. Same function as 1., however, of a more permanent structure.

5. HANDICRAFTS, ART, etc.

The Woisika make a considerable use of wood in the construction of plank houses, tool handles, bows, arrows, armor, boxes, cooking utensils, water containers, etc. Nowadays some of these are replaced by modern materials from the Chinese merchants, e.g. plastic and iron. I did not find stone implements; bones and antlers do not seem to be used.

FIGURE 9

Different types of machetes BI parang ['kineʔ]



5.1. BASKETRY

The Woisika show an elaborate basketry skill. The main technique is twilling, but wickerwork and plaiting are also to be seen. Wrapping has recently been introduced from Kilana but is not widely practiced. For the small baskets the smooth outer layer of the bamboo [t0n 'yɛkul] and the inner layer [t0n 'yɛp0] are used. Different ways of plaiting result in quite complicated geometrical designs, sometimes monochrome, sometimes in two shades of yellow since the [t0n 'yɛkul] is slightly brighter than the [t0n 'yɛp0]. Often the pattern is enlivened through the addition of black. The colour is obtained as follows:

The skin of the bamboo is blackened above a fire from dry banana-tree leaves ['m0ybɔŋ] and/or gum of the kenari-tree ['kanal id0]. Then the bamboo is rubbed using the leaves of the *Arachis hypogaea* [ta'ra ma'ka 'yɛwura].

The vertical strands [sɔl 'latsɪŋ] of the basket are usually made from ['yɛp0], the filler ['tɔdɪ] from ['yɛkul]. The brim is finely decorated with a small strip spun from the *Arenga Sacharifera* ['sumɛ]. The foundation of the bigger carrying baskets is often strengthened by small sticks ([key]) and surrounded by a bamboo strip [kə'waylɑ]. A carrying rope is spun. This rope is divided at each end into three, then these smaller ropes are attached at the base of the basket and fastened to the side by three fine strips ['tɔka ga'taŋ] which are plaited from base to rim.

I have found the following types of baskets:

[s0]	general purpose basket
['Asay]	big rice container (contains more than 200 dm ³)
['sayma]	sirih pinang basket for men
['s0ma]	sirih pinang basket for women
['las0]	basket from very fine bamboo-strands
[bɛ'lɛks0]	a big basket (20 dm ³ contents)
['kantas0]	a big basket (10 dm ³ contents)
[s0 kə'baŋ]	a big basket (5 dm ³ contents)

The rattan belt ['waydila?] which the Woisika wore around their waists in former days as a part of their war or hunting equipment was twined. Sleeping mats [α'di] and the [bɑ'lɛlan], a mat on which the rice is threshed are simply plaited. The houses have walls made from twilled bamboo strips.

5.2. WEAVING

Although handwoven cloth is considered to be of great importance on occasions such as weddings and funerals, the Woisika do not weave

themselves. They import their sarongs [kɛŋ] and selimuts [nŋ] predominantly from Kolana, but also, according to their traditions, from Timor and the coastal area of Kalabahi, etc. Those clothes which are made from handspun threads ['kasa] are highly esteemed. Nowadays the warp threads are often ['sɪna kasa] (BI Cina 'Chinese'), thread bought in the Chinese shops.

Below are the names of the most common cloths which are used to wrap the dead:

1. ['aŋbiʃat-] quadruple width. It is used for women only, there are two types:
 - ['pɛlɪŋ kɛŋ]
 - ['seraŋ kɛŋ] this type coming from East Timor.
2. ['aŋɔk-] double width. It is used for the burial of men:
 - ['bɔɪnŋ] or ['kɔɪlɪŋ nŋ] (from Kolana)
 - ['ki'lɪlɪŋ nŋ] (from Kiraman)
 - ['pɛlɪŋ nŋ]
 - ['mawŋnŋ]
 - ['mAsɪŋ nŋ] (from Mataru)
 - ['seraŋ nŋ] (from East Timor)
 - ['Anɔbɔy ('ye) nŋ] (from the coastal area near Kalabahi).
3. ['aŋɔk-] this single width is called ['sɪfuy bɔy] and is used as a ceremonial loincloth by a man during the following occasions:
 - a. when someone from his family has died and he goes to his relatives to ask for help (see 8.5.)
 - b. when he has obtained a mokko (see 8.3.3.)
 - c. when he dances the lego-lego (see 5.8.)

5.3. METALLURGY

The Woisika are modest black-smiths. Most utensils are bought in the shops. The various iron arrow points and spear heads are made by the Woisika themselves.

5.4. BEADWORK

In former days the Woisika were well-known for their bead ornaments (belts, strings, shoulder and headbands, etc.)⁹. These beads ['pap(uʔ)] probably imported by the Makassarrese and Chinese were mostly diagonally threaded in geometric motives. The different sorts are:

- [pap ka'ra bAy] big beads
 [pap 'bisa?] beads especially used for the headband
 ['sIna pap] beads from the Chinese shops

Nowadays the beautiful bead-bands are not used; we encountered, incidentally, a [s'Omα] decorated with beads.

5.5. CARVING

In former days much time was spent on carving: beautifully stylized nagas ['ulanan] were made (see Figure 5, 6, 7, 8) and high reliefs could be found on the houses: the most important poles and planks were decorated, household utensils, spoons, combs, lime boxes, warbelts ([bah])¹⁰ were elaborate pieces of art with different motifs, such as naga, meander, double spiral, masks, etc. Much of the old carving technique is now lost.

5.6. CLOTHES AND ORNAMENTATION

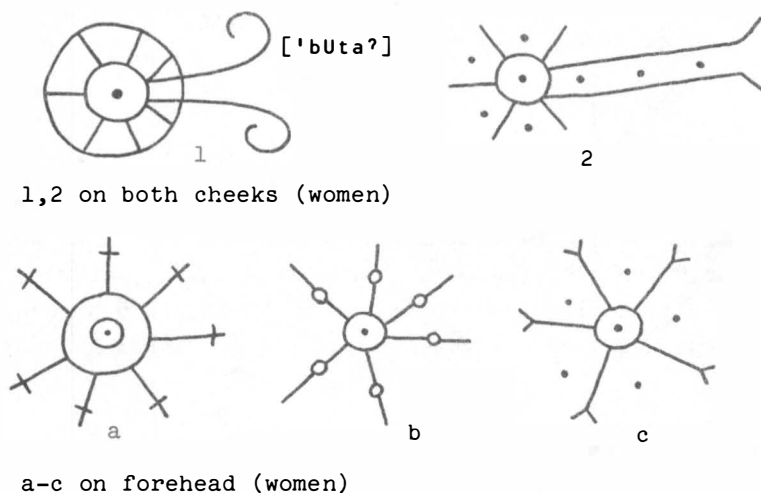
Barkcloth [la'kabi] is not used any more: most people wear sarongs and European-styled clothes made by themselves from cloth imported from Java. Footwear is still quite rare, headgear is not found. During the lego-lego the women wear their bracelets ['laysin] and footbands [si'kay], the men their footbands [ge'rin gerin] (<BI giring-giring) with the little bells [On]. In earlier days the men treated their hair with special care; they shaped it in a high cylinder form ['lawka kα'pay] using red coloured bamboo strings [taw 'bika?] and decorated it with feathers and other ornaments (combs, etc.). This hairstyle is now out of fashion.¹¹

5.7. TATTOOING ['bUta?] AND OTHER BODY DECORATION

The old people still show remnants of tattooing. Women were usually tattooed ['tafe?] on the forehead, the cheeks near the corners of the mouth, the arms and the legs and between the breasts. Men on their back and arms. The dye is prepared from ['amIduka], drops of breast milk, and [wun si'nI], soot from the cooking pan. With a thorn of a lemon tree [mU si'lin] dipped in this mixture the motifs are pricked in the arm, leg, etc. After 7-10 days the wounds are healed and the design is polished with the leaves of the [bi'IA] an unidentified plant 'sejenis tali hutan' ('a kind of liana').

Two other interesting customs which are no longer practised are ['taeh w0] 'the polishing of the teeth' and ['taeh lux] 'the filing of the teeth'. Informants told me that both customs were not obligatory. As in the case with ['bUta?] adolescent girls and boys are invited to

FIGURE 10
Tattooing patterns



have their teeth filed as part of the festivities held when for example a house is finished. An ordinary whetstone ['kayda?'] is used dipped in water mixed with unhusked rice [Afa'taka]. Whereas the ['taeh lux] can be interpreted as a relic of puberty rites, the ['taeh w0] seems to have had a different purpose. At the age of 20-25 (the usual age for marrying - the brideprice is high) the men withdrew themselves for a period of 1-2 weeks to certain secret places in the woods to blacken their teeth. Not everybody was allowed: the men with the black teeth chose the new members of their club (?). Women were not allowed to witness the proceedings but had their own exclusive groups which did exactly the same thing but on other occasions and in other places. The function of this ['taeh lux] did not become clear to me - I could not find out if this ceremony had special consequences in the organization of daily life, but I was told that black teeth indicated that the man or woman in question was ripe for marriage. The teeth were blackened by intensive rubbing with a dye made from the juice of the ['karamey] a species of the *Phyllanthus acidus* and ['tanala] a sort of fine black earth.

5.8. DANCE

The most important dance is the ringdance called lego-lego in the local variant of BI ['pilaŋ]. There are four variants:

1. men and women dance together in one or more circles
2. the women form an inner circle, the men the outer circle

3. the men dance alone (e.g. after the [ka'raŋ i'leŋ], see 4.3.)
4. the women dance alone ([la'kawka] see 8.5.1.).

When there are many participants they move in a helical line. There are five different ways in which the dancers may hold each other:¹²

1. holding little fingers [ta'taŋ ki'wɪl]
2. holding hands [ta'taŋ fun]
3. arm in arm [ta'funfun]
4. with their arm put on their neighbour's shoulders
5. with their arms around their neighbour's waists } [ta'maŋ k'aɪl]

The ['pilaŋ] may be enlivened by the sound of gongs (mostly two) and makkos but the ritual lego-lego (especially the [ta'maŋ k'aɪl] are only accompanied by the monotone but impressive cadence of the stamping feet and the jingling of the bracelets and footbands with their little bells [0ŋ]. In these dances the ['pilaŋ 'ɛla?], 'the precentor' sings his songs, old ones and sometimes, when it seems opportune he relates about actual happenings and comments on them. The dancers often repeat the last phrase of a paragraph and from time to time another ['pilaŋ 'ɛla?] may take over and continue the story. The last participant carries a stick; the first of the row, bow and arrow. Formerly the lego-lego was danced on the family ['mayta?] or on the communal ['mayta?] according to the occasion. Besides the village ['maŋɛ] there was also a dance place in the big clan garden ['miɪA bAy] where sometimes ritual lego-lego were held. Now they have fallen out of use.

The lego-lego is danced for diversion [kɪ 'pilaŋ] or in the framework of some ceremony. To the last category belong the round-dances held during:

1. the building of a house (see 4.3.)
2. the funeral feasts (see 8.5.)
3. the activities in the clan garden (see 8.5.)
4. when preparing for war [ka'wA 'pilaŋ]
5. after a head-hunting raid

The texts sung by the old men during these lego-lego form the precious remnants left from an almost lost culture suppressed and demolished by fanatic representatives of the imported European religious systems, stimulated and used for political purposes by the Dutch colonial government. In this oral tradition the sacred and the profane are related as well as the ancestral genealogy. This beautiful poetry sings of the origin of the Woisika, of their wandering through Alor, of their wars and head-hunting raids, of their mythical heroes. In their high falsetto voices the precentors chant from sun-set to sun-rise. The songs bind

the different families together stressing their joint history, informing them about their far away mutual relations. The songs also accompany the Woisika from before his birth till the moment that his soul arrives at the village of the dead on the island of Sikka.

6. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

6.1. FAMILY AND CLAN

The smallest social unit in Woisika is nowadays the nuclear family. However, there is evidence of a larger unit of social organisation, as was indicated in connection with the [al'maŋ bAy]. What is meant is ['atamaŋ], the small patrilineal clan.

Although nowadays in the old villages, as far as they are not already deserted, several ['atamaŋ] are attested, it seems reasonable to assume that in former days every clan [BI suku) had its own settlement and that the sons stayed with their father (extended family) until lack of ground or quarrels made them find another place or enter another village (e.g. the village of their wife's parents). On the new spot they built their [al'maŋ bAy] to which they gave the name of their clan so indicating their relationship with their ancestors. Not much is known about the organization of the clan: there must have been three leaders (status based on age) - the head of the clan ['yeŋAk ('ye)idama] usually the oldest man, the leader in ritual affairs, the ['samami], 'the in-between', that is, the man who is the second eldest in age, for the daily affairs; and the ['miidika] 'the youngest' who was the head of warfare. In villages with more than one ['atamaŋ] the different functions were divided by mutual arrangement. At present the head of the clan has still a high status; he is often consulted in daily matters.

6.2. THE OWNERSHIP OF THE GARDENS

Gardens are the kernel of an agricultural society. In Woisika there are two kinds: the private garden ['miIA] and the clan garden ['miIA bAy] or ['wey bAy]. The first is the property of the owner; he receives it or inherits it from his father and uses it for his food supply. Female siblings do not often get a garden. However, there are exceptions:

1. when there are no male siblings
2. when there is not enough ground in their husband's village. In this case the gardens are usually given in usufruct. After the harvest the husband has to offer the ['lamta] of his wife a (symbolic) part of the harvest together with a few other gifts such as a chicken or sirih pinang.
3. when she and her husband decide to stay in the village of her father.

Men who are named after mother's parents may ask for a part of the gardens in the village of mother's [*'lamta*], when there is no longer ground enough for them in their father's village. According to my older informants it happened that when a husband and his wife wanted (one of) the gardens of her parents, she went back to her parents and refused to return. Her husband complained then to the head of his clan and after repeated refusals preparations for war were made. In order to prevent war the parents then often gave their daughter what she wanted in order to get her back to her husband. This could only be done when the husband already had paid the brideprice, otherwise he would not have had the right to demand her back.

Gardens may be given in usufruct to other relatives; the trees planted on it during this period remain the property of the man who planted them. Until now nobody has ever sold his garden; my informants did not know if they were allowed to do so or not.

The [*'mila bAy*] is the garden which is cultivated by all members of the clan when big ceremonies are planned, e.g. the construction of an [*al'man bAy*] or the final feasts of the dead. These gardens have their own names and their own lego-lego places which however, are not elevated as those in the villages. The three clans in Manegeng have the following [*'mila bAy*]:

1. [*'lonwah*] (1) : [*si'donmana*] and [*ta'famalin*]
2. [*'lonwah*] (2) : [*wa'temi*] and [*ta'famalin*]
3. [*'kolwah*] : [*'baymana*]

7. RELIGION

The Woisika are said to be Christians. The old interpretations of the supernatural have been replaced by new, European ones. Most of the W are Protestants; a small group is Roman Catholic (approximately 500). Protestantism was introduced at the beginning of this century (approximately 1915), Catholicism after the Second World War. According to my own observations I would say, however, that most of them still hold their old beliefs in spiritual beings (animism) and in supernatural forces (mana). Their world is still full of souls of the dead [*ka'tAy 'wolman*], several kinds of bad ghosts, as for instance [*i'lan*], [*ka'tAy 'bokɔ*], [*lok-*], and spirits [*'mukunin*]. There are so called "evil" places [*'wetbokɔ*] all over the area, there are holy stones, mokus, gongs and sorcerers [*lu'bulin*]. There are people who try to obtain extraordinary or supernatural power in a dream or vision [*'ilmu 'yɛfAh*]. It is obvious that this presents us with the familiar pattern: a depressing mixture of old fears and many newly obtained ones.

Since the old conception was intensively intertwined in all phases of daily life, the Dutch colonial clergy and their local helpers have fought its manifestations most fanatically. This meant in fact a total cultural suppression: dancing of the *lego-lego* was forbidden (and still is in certain areas). Moreover, the numerous representations of their idols, e.g. the horned crocodile-like animal, the ['ulanaga] have been burnt or destroyed.¹³ These *nagas* must have had different functions; e.g. protectors of the family, the village, the gardens, the clan and guardians of the dead. In cases of illness, pregnancy, etc. a chicken or pig was slaughtered and cooked rice with blood and meat were offered to the *naga*.¹⁴

8. THE LIFE CYCLE

8.1. PREGNANCY ([ga'pay 'bəkə] or ['yeix 'mick-]) AND CHILDBIRTH

The cessation of menstruation is recognized as the beginning of pregnancy. The *Woisika* call it ['ysmaneyɪn su'wɛʔ] 'a guest comes'. Food tabus apply to the pregnant woman; she is not allowed to eat rice or maize without additional food ['saka ka'tɛxnA]. *Kenari* nuts [ka'nal], jackfruit [ton] and different bananas [m0y] are forbidden, but vegetables ['wutɔŋ] and coconut milk ['watɛ il] are obligatory. However, special local medicines [dɔ'wan], or [sak 'wurA] are eaten or used to wash the body.

During the pregnancy it is strongly advised to soothe the souls of the dead family members for whom the final death rituals have not been held. The best thing to do is to continue the series of festivities as soon as possible (see 8.5.1.). If no finances are available and the dead begin to appear in the dreams of the couple then usually a chicken is slaughtered and eaten with the neighbours. If the dead belong to the family of the wife, the couple have to take the chicken to the village of the wife's parents.

When the moment of birth is near ['yɛwuymidamə] a local midwife [i'pɔmə] and women from the village, plus the mother of the husband and, when the village is not too far away, the mother of the wife, come to help her. The husband or a brother of the husband assists in holding her shoulders. When it is a difficult birth all sorts of medicines are used, and often the woman's hands are bound together and pulled up by a rope attached to the ceiling until she partly hangs, partly sits on a big stone. When the child is born not much fuss is made about it. The father goes to ask for money from his neighbours and nearest relatives. This is called ['wilɪn s0y] 'to ask for an arrow' when it is a boy and ['sɛn s0y] 'to ask for money' when it is a girl. The money is given to

the women who help the parents during the following tabu period of four or seven days. The parents are not allowed to do anything except to eat and to relax themselves; others wash the mother and cook the meals. Close relatives come to look at the child and bring rice, chickens, water, etc. In return the parents offer rice, bananas, maize or other gifts to the visitors. This is called ['masI].

After this period the parents sit in front of their house with their baby on a single occasion for approximately one hour [ka'rI ga'wAwɔ 'ɣɛnih]. Hereafter the wife ['malɛʔ] is free to do her daily work, however, for the husband [lam] it is the beginning of a tabu period of eight months during which it is forbidden to:

1. build fences (used in the gardens to prevent the soil from being washed away by the rains during the wet season).
2. build a house
3. plant.

The soul of the newborn child may get trapped under the stones used for the fence, or in the ground and the baby will die or become ill. The necessary activities in the gardens are carried out by the wife, neighbours and relatives of the man. When the umbilical cord has fallen off [ga'bu 'muytan] it is placed in a banana tree or other food-supplying plant. The fruit may not be eaten by the parents. When the cord disappears it is said that the child will be extraordinarily thirsty. The wife usually does not become pregnant again within two years. In this period she looks after her baby; then older children take over. Should the wife die in labour and the bride-price has not been fully paid, the family of the wife will do everything they can to obtain the price. This means a heavy burden for the unhappy husband who also has to make considerable payments for the funeral. However, the family of the deceased is not allowed to take the child.

8.2. NAME-GIVING

The name is usually given within a month after the birth. It is more or less predictable: the first boy gets the name of his father's father, the first girl of her father's mother, the second baby is called after the father or the mother of the wife, and so on. The third boy or girl is often named after father's eldest brother or father's eldest brother's wife.

Sometimes a child is called after its deceased brother or sister, however, this principle is not too rigidly adhered to. Nowadays the baptismal name is added as a christian name. Since the Woisika originally did not use a family name which could be used for administrative

identification they now often take at random a name as the official one (e.g. the name of the [al'maŋ bAy] or an interesting ancestor). So, one of my informants calls himself Andreas Asafa, Andreas as baptismal name, Asafa as the new administrative name which his children will use too. But his adat name is ['lawwaŋ], after an unmarried brother of his father which was chosen because this name threatened to be lost (see Appendix 3). The Woisika name is usually composed of two elements, the first part is semantically marked for gender since feminine names show initial components different from masculine names. The second or last part in compounds of more than two elements seems to be neutral as to gender. It is often replaced by the honorific [sAk-] or the affective markers: [de, -ko, -'bayla?].

Below a list is offered of all male and female initial components attested so far (for a full list of names see Appendix 1).

Masculine			Feminine	
an	atey		adi	
asa				
bila				
fA			fo	
kamaw	kawaŋ		kay	koy
kameŋ	kawŋ		kaliŋ	kol
kamiŋ			kari	
lah	law			
laŋ	lawh			
laŋ	let			
layh				
ma	mal	maw	matay	
may	manet	muy		
makan				
makiliŋ	mani			
o				
on				
			puy	
sal			sila	sinan
sina			silo	soy
				sun
taŋ			tal	
w0			woy	
			wol	

8.3. MARRIAGE

8.3.1. Marriage Regulations

The Woisika usually marry outside their clan ([*'ataman*]). No one may marry a relative of recognized relationship within four or so degrees. Ego's promiscuity with a member of his/her clan or that of his/her mother's is considered incest, but when it occurs not much attention is paid to it. Junior and senior levirate and sororate occur, (sororal) polygyny too. Bride exchange is not practised.

8.3.2. Kinds of Marriages

There are four modes of acquiring a wife in Woisika: they are, in order of frequency:

1. bride-price
2. suitor service
3. inheritance
4. elopement

The couple usually settles in the domicile of the husband's family (virilocal) but two other practices occur as well: 1. neolocal, in the case of elopement or illness and 2. uxori-local.

Uxori-local: (a) when there are no males in the family of the wife, the man may come to live in the domicile of the girl's family, he works in their garden and he will become the owner in due time.

(b) when in the village of the groom hardly any ground is available the couple may stay in the village of the girl and usually they get a piece of ground (in usufruct), they are then considered to be [*'lamta*].

(c) when the man takes another wife he may stay in her village during the initial period to prevent problems with his first wife.

Neolocal/uxori-local: when the wife is permanently ill in her husband's village, the couple may move to another village, e.g. the girl's village.

8.3.3. The Bride-Price

The bride-price predominantly consists of kettle-drums (BI *mokko*) [*'wayma*] and gongs [*ku'rɔŋ*] for which Alor and its surrounding islands are famous. The *mokko* are given by the family of the man to the family of the woman. Serious research on *mokko* has not yet been carried out and actually nothing is known about them or their origins.¹⁵ There exist three sorts of *mokko*:

1. mokko made of stone
2. mokko made of wood ['wɔyman ku'rɔŋ]
3. those made of metal: iron, brass or bronze.

The last category is used especially for bride-prices. It falls out of the scope of this paper to go further into this matter here, but it is evident that these drums do not originate from Alor. Of the many mokko examined here only two showed similarities with the famous Dongsong drums (motifs, quality of casting, etc.).¹⁶ The others are probably made partly in the Indonesian Archipelago (Java, Borneo ?) and partly on the east coast of China. The latter were imported by Chinese, Makkasarese and Portuguese merchants, the former probably by the Mojopahit. There are many types and sub-types, many of which have their own name in the local languages. Some types are generally known by their local Indonesian name only. The value which is changing all the time is not known by the younger people, moreover it became evident from experiments carried out by the author that in general no fixed values exists because:

(a) the old men from one and the same community may identify, name and value differently newly brought in mokko.

(b) mokko which are highly valued in one area may not be appreciated equally by other communities (e.g. the so-called moko pum or pung from Pantar).

(c) the price of a mokko may be influenced by:

1. the sentimental value
2. its ritual function
3. its mana
4. its history and celebrity
5. the number of mokko possessed by a community
6. its quality (damaged or not, etc.)

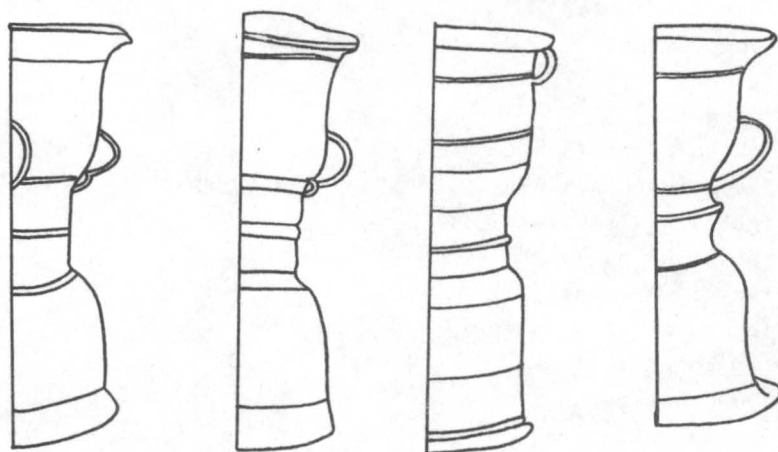
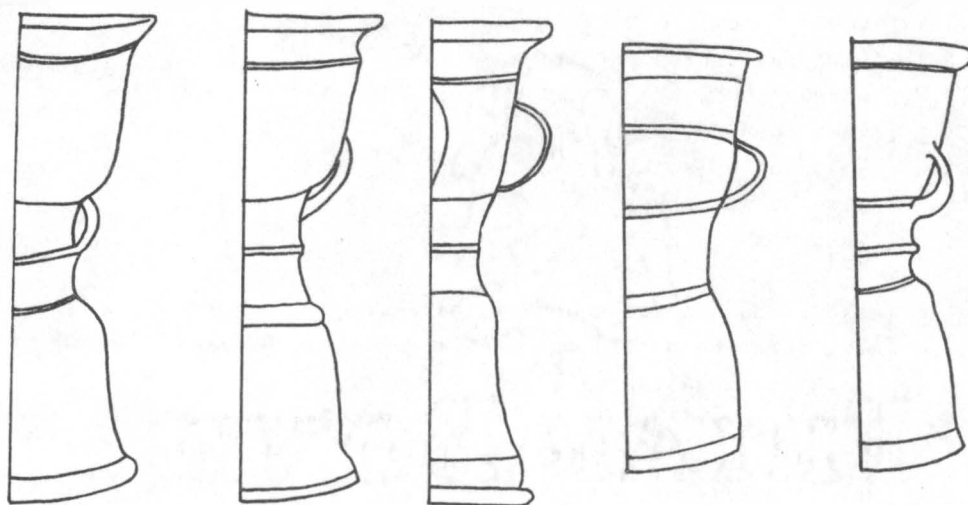
The last argument plays only a secondary role.

Below I give a list of mokko from the Woisika area; they are arranged in their approximate order of value:

1. ['dita ɣɛn fi'niŋ 'ɛlaʔ] also called Malay Tanah
 - 1.1. ['dita ɣɛn ɡa'taŋ la'paŋmi] or ['dita ɣɛn ɡa'taŋ kaŋmi]
 - 1.2. ['dita ɣɛn 'kɔtmi]
 - 1.3. ['dita ɣɛn si'lonɔa]
2. [kɔl 'maɭay] also called ['ulu 'maɭay] (tanah)
 - 2.1. [kɔl bi'lekta]
 - 2.2. [kɔl 'kɔtkAbaʔ]

FIGURE 11

Several profiles of morkos found in Alor and Pantar



- 2.3. ['wanda kɔl 'malay]
- 2.4. [kɔl 'malay lam]
- 2.5. [kɔl 'malay 'maɪE]

- 3. ['yawa] (tanah)
- 3.1. ['yawa 'tulɛŋ]
- 3.2. ['yawa ina'muntA] or ['yawa ma'numi]
- 3.3. ['wanda 'yawa]
- 3.4. ['yawa 'munma]
- 3.5. ['yawa ga'wey su'ku]
- 3.6. ['yawa ga'wey uh]
- 3.7. ['yawa 'maysi 'awka]

- 4. [maka'sera] also called mokko Makasar
- 4.1. [maka'sera ina'muntA] or [maka'sera ga'taŋ la'paŋmi] or
[maka'sera ga'taŋ kaŋmi]
- 4.2. [maka'sera kati'daxmi] or [maka'sera ga'ta ma'ruk-] or
[maka'sera ga'taŋ tuk-]
- 4.3. [maka'sera 'tawmi]
- 4.4. [maka'sera 'yayfut-]

- 5. [ay'malaʔ]
- 5.1. [ay'mala 'bɔŋ kɔtmi]
- 5.2. [ay'mala 'kaetaŋban]
- 5.3. ['wanda ay'mala]
- 5.4. ['yawa ay'mala]

- 6. ['pe ga'wA]
- 6.1. ['pe ga'wA 'sumaran]
- 6.2. ['pe ga'wA a'puyfal] or ['pe ga'wA a'puypey]
- 6.3. ['pe ga'wA 'sAkalakaʔ]
- 6.4. ['pe ga'wA ma'iantA]
- 6.5. ['pe ga'wA 'mɔntA]
- 6.6. ['pe ga'wA a'sa wu'rami]
- 6.7. ['pe ga'wA sa'lehsi]
- 6.8. ['yawa 'pe ga'wA]
- 6.9. ['wanda 'pe ga'wA]

- 7. ['dita gen] or [na'mɔliŋ] or Malay serani
- 7.1. ['dita gen ga'taŋ kaŋmi]
- 7.2. ['dita gen 'gesɔl]

- 7.3. ['wanda 'dita gen]
- 7.4. ['yawa 'dita gen]
- 7.5. ['dita gen ga'wA mut la'pan]

- 8. [si'pi gen 'wuy ya'wA]

- 9. ['barul]

- 10. [ka'tAŋ a'suy] or [ka'tAŋ a'si]

- 11. ['kɔtta]

- 12. ['tawmi]
- 12.1. ['tawmi 'mandara]
- 12.2. ['tawmi 'tɛfay]
- 12.3. ['tawmi ba'ta ka'pala]

- 13. [ka'tAŋmi]
- 13.1. [ka'tAŋmi la'pan]
- 13.2. [ka'tAŋmi ma'ruk-]

- 14. ['pikuʔ]
- 14.1. ['piku 'kaetanban]
- 14.2. ['piku ga'taŋ kaŋmi]
- 14.3. ['piku 'montA]
- 14.4. [su'pɔl 'pikuʔ]
- 14.5. ['wanda 'pikuʔ]
- 14.6. ['yawa 'pikuʔ]

- 15. ['gen 'bɔtaʔ]

- 16. ['wayma ki'diŋ]

In the exchange of mokko the following rule holds: one mokko is worth three less important mokko as follows, e.g.: one ['yawa] = two [maka'sera] plus one [ay'malaʔ], one [maka'sera] = two [ay'malaʔ] plus one ['pegawA], etc. It is a common misunderstanding that the mokko is used for bride-price only. They still may be used as a means of payment and also have their role during several ritual festivities. They are exchanged for food, labour, ground, etc. and they still form a reason for local quarrels.

8.3.4. Arranging a Marriage

When a man wants to marry a certain girl, he discusses the matter first with his close relatives (amongst others his ['yεpα 'εla?], (see 8.4.) and the head of the ['ataman]). The matchmaker, or better, a go-between is then chosen, usually a woman who is from the girl's village but who lives now with her husband in the village of the suitor. This so-called ['yEy bAy] 'way' knows both families and comments on their plans, gives information about the partners to both parties. She is sent to her parents' village in order to find out if the parents of the girl agree or not. This is called 'to ask whether our friend wants to come and help look for water' [yA 'sinawt- 'yEbA gα'mawndahbɔ sɛ 'neyli fAh]. When they react positively the go-between will be sent again, now to ask about the size of the bride-price. The expression used is [yA 'yEbAntɛ 'leybin pα'teybin 'mE tafe?] 'to go and tell them that beans and maize are planted'.

The relatives of the girl will then present betel and areca nut ['maysi ba'kA 'gasao] as a sign that the official negotiation can be held. The community is informed ['mane 'paysan] and those people who show special interest in the case are free to follow the discussions. The relatives of the man give a not too expensive mokko and then wait for the formulation of the bride-price, the size of which is dependent on several factors, e.g.:

1. the wealth and/or social status of the wife-givers,
2. whether the bride-price for the mother was paid,
3. whether a high price was paid for the mother,
4. whether there is one daughter or more,
5. which level of sibling position the girl holds in comparison with her sisters (e.g. when there are three girls the eldest girl is the most expensive, e.g. ['pεgα'wA], the second will cost a Malay serani and the third a ['tawmi] only),
6. (and nowadays) whether the girl went to school or not,
7. whether the girl has many unmarried brothers (usually the eldest unmarried brother may claim the bride-price of his sister to buy his own future wife).

In addition the girl's family asks for three less valued mokko for:

1. the head of the suku
2. the ['samami]
3. the [man'lorα]. Usually they receive a [ka'tAnmi], ['piku?] and ['gɛn bUta?], respectively.

Then the negotiations begin and a price is established. After this the

two mothers begin to work together: to look for nuts, tubers, etc., to get acquainted with each other. A feast in order to satisfy the deceased relatives completes this phase, e.g. [ka'tAy yəŋ 'wəməh] or [ku'rəŋ ka'ri 'wəbA] (see 8.5.1.).

The groom (in co-operation with his relatives) now presents the bride-price together with the following gifts:

1. a big container full of unhusked rice, [say]
2. a bamboo tube, full of tobacco [ta'bA]
3. a branch of areca nuts, betel and lime [ba'ka 'aynək-, 'maysi, α'wəy]
4. a pig [pɛ'uxnək-]
5. a machete [kine nək-]
6. a bundle of arrows as thick as an ankle, wrapped in a cloth (one meter) [wi'liŋ 'talnək-]

Rich people often give more to impress the family of the girl and 'to make her proud and happy'. The bride-price plus the gifts are exposed so that everybody can see them and comment on them. The girl then offers all the mokko to the three abovementioned authorities and they will ask in turn for the name of the giver: the girl mentions the name of the groom. With the distribution of the arrows between the male relatives of the girl, the feast is ended. In return for the bride-price the parents of the bride present the so-called [i'sey 'pawsiŋ] or ['murin] which consists of:

1. one pig [pɛ 'uhnək-]
2. one ('aŋ bijat-) sarong and one ['səmA] for the mother of the groom,
3. one [nəŋ 'aŋək-] and one ['saymA] for his father
4. a pair of footbands [si'kay]
5. a beadwork band [pap ka'ra(mi)]
6. a headband made from white beads ['bisaʔ].

Dressed in the ['aŋ bijat-] and the abovementioned ornaments the bride goes to the domicile of her groom, accompanied by the inhabitants from her village. There the ['murin] is handed to the groom's family; a feast completes the ritual.

When there is not enough wealth in the family of the man, or when they do not want to help him, the man may offer to work on the fields of his wife's parents. Under these circumstances the couple's domicile usually is virilocal.

8.3.5. Other Marriage Customs

Inheritance of a wife of husband (sororate, levirate) can also occur.

Elopement ['dum malɛ 'yɛtak- yA alm'aŋ bAy 'pijAmidaʔ] occurs when social and/or familial disapproval forbids a marriage. Usually an older relative or acquaintance is prepared to accept them in his domicile.

After the *fait accompli* the parents of the girl demand the bride-price.

It may be useful to make the following remarks in this framework:

1. When a man takes another wife and lives with her in another village he still is the rightful parent of the children from his first wife.

2. In case a man steals another man's wife he has to pay a double bride-price to the parents of the woman's first husband.

3. A man who sends his wife away does not get his bride-price back.

4. When a man takes another wife he has to pay bride-price for this second wife too. This also holds in case of sororal polygyny [ta'kUminih] and sororate.

5. When the wife is barren the bride-price is not paid back. Usually a child from either side is adopted. This is called ['nɛwɔ 'masi si'laŋ].

6. When a sexual relation already exists between the partners and the girl dies before the official procedure has been taken up, the bride-price has to be paid.

7. Reasons for dissolution of the marriage are, amongst others:

- (a) constant quarrelling
- (b) barrenness
- (c) laziness on the part of the husband
- (d) taking another partner.

8. The husband has to give little presents on all sorts of occasions to the relatives of his wife, her ['lamta], although the bride-price has been properly paid. For instance, when one of his children dies, the ['lamta] of his wife come to soothe him and he has to give them 'something to dry their eyes with' ['teyna 'ipu] (a cheap mokko, e.g. ['pikuʔ], a meter of cloth, etc.). He has to help his wife's ['lamta] as well as he can, but on the other hand, when they help him, he being their ['dummalɛʔ] has to pay it back. When the mother of the wife presents a gift to the daughter who has been called after her, her father has to consider it as (part of) a loan.

9. When a family has only female children the parents may decide to adopt a male child from a different ['ataman]. This child receives then the name of the adoptive father's father and will get (part of) the

gardens. He is not allowed to marry a daughter from his adoptive parents nor his real sisters.

8.4. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

It seems convenient to give here the kinship terminology of the Woisika. There are three categories of terms:

1. terms of address
2. descriptive terms
3. terms of reference

For instance, MBW is referred to as ['nowkɔ 'ɛlaʔ]; she is described as ['nowkɔ kəŋ 'yɛnawt- 'yɛmalɛʔ] 'my biological mother's sibling of opposite sex's wife', but the term of address is simply ['nowkɔ]. I restrict myself to category 3.

8.4.1. Terms of Reference

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. | ['nɛmaysi tuk- 'nɛbaka ka'ra] | any Alter belonging to the fifth and higher descending or ascending genealogical levels |
| 2. | ['nɛkabita] | any Alter belonging to the fourth descending or ascending genealogical level |
| 2.1. | ['nɛkabita lam] | as 2. when male |
| 2.1.1. | ['nɛkabita lam 'idama] | as 2.1. when Alter older than one (or more) other Alter(s) defined by the same set of basic semantic features: $A > A_1, A_2$, etc. |
| 2.1.2. | ['nɛkabita lam 'idika] | as 2.1.1. when Alter younger than one (or more) other Alter(s), etc. $A < A_x, A_y$, etc. |
| 2.2. | ['nɛkabita 'malɛ] | as 2. when female |
| 2.2.1. | ['nɛkabita 'malɛ 'idama] | as 2.1.1. when female |
| 2.2.2. | ['nɛkabita 'malɛ 'idika] | as 2.1.2. when female |
| 3. | ['nɛsun] | any Alter belonging to the third descending or ascending genealogical level |
| 3.1. | ['nɛsun lam], etc. | as 3. when male, etc. |

4. ['netam] any Alter belonging to the second descending or ascending genealogical level
- 4.1. ['netam lam], etc. as 4. when male, etc.
5. ['netam 'nesun] all deceased Alters belonging to the sets 1, 2, 3 and 4.
6. ['nepa ('naon) kan]
['nepa (naox) kan]
['nepa sAk-] F
7. ['nowko ('naon) kan]
['nowko (naox) kan]
['nowko sAk-] M
8. ['nowko 'nepa ('naon) kan] parents
9. ['nepa] FB, FZH, FMZS, FFZS, FFBS, FMBS, MFZS, MMZS, MFBS, MMBS, etc.
- 9.1. ['nepa 'idama] FeB, FeZH; MH(1th) (when ≠ and > 6)
- 9.2. ['nepa 'idika] FyB, FyZH; MH(2th) (when ≠ and < 6)
10. ['nowko] FZ, FBW; FMZD, FFZD, FMBD, FFBD, MFZD, MMZD, MFBD, MMBD, etc.
- 10.1. ['nowko 'idama] FeZ, FeBW (also: Fe/yBW(1th)); FW(1th) (when ≠ and > 7)
- 10.2. ['nowko 'idika] FyZ, FyBW (also: Fe/yBW(2th)); FW(2th) (when ≠ and < 7)
11. ['nepa 'ela?] MB, MZH; MH(2th) (when ≠ 6)
- 11.1. ['nepa 'ela 'idama] MeB, MeZH
- 11.2. ['nepa 'ela 'idika] MyB, MyZH
12. ['nowko 'ela?] MZ, MBW(1th/2th); FW(2th) (when ≠ 7)
- 12.1. ['nowko 'ela 'idama] MeZ, MeBW (also: Me/yBW(1th))
- 12.2. ['nowko 'ela 'idika] MyZ, MyBW (also: Me/yBW(2th))

13. ['nenaka] FBC, FZC; FMZCC, FMBCC, FFZCC, FFBCC, MMZCC, etc. (when > Ego)
- 13.1. ['nenaka 'idama] FBC, etc. (when > Ego and > A₁, A₂, etc.)
- 13.1.1. ['nenaka 'idama kaŋ] the oldest member of the relevant set of Alters (i.e. all relatives of the same generation when > Ego)
- 13.2. ['nenaka 'idika] FBC, etc. (when > Ego and < A_x, A_y, etc.)
- 13.3. ['nenaka 'samami] FBC, etc. (when > Ego and > A₁ and < A_x)
- 13.4. ['nenaka lam 'idama] FBS, FZS, etc. (when > Ego and > A₁, A₂, etc.)
- 13.4.1. ['nenaka lam 'idika] as 13.2. (when male)
- 13.5. ['nenaka 'male 'idama], etc. as 13.4. (when female), etc.
- 13.6. ['nenaka kaŋ] sibling (when > Ego)
- 13.7. ['nenaka 'ela?] MBC, MZC (when > Ego)
14. ['nekak-] as 13. (when < Ego)
- 14.1. ['nekak- 'idika kaŋ], etc. the youngest member of the relevant set of Alters (i.e. all relatives of the same generation when < Ego), etc.
15. ['nenamuk-] FBS, FZS (for male Ego), FBD, FZD (for female Ego)
- 15.1. ['nenamuk- 'idama] as 15. (when > A₁, A₂, etc.)
- 15.2. ['nenamuk- 'idika] as 15. (when < A_x, A_y, etc.)
16. ['nenawt] FBS, FZS (for female Ego), FBD, FZD (for male Ego)
- 16.1. ['nenawt 'idama] as 16. (when > A₁, A₂, etc.)
- 16.1.1. ['nenawt 'idama kaŋ] as 16.1. (being the oldest member of the relevant set of Alters)
- 16.2. ['nenawt 'idika] as 16. (when < A_x, A_y, etc.)
- 16.2.1. ['nenawt 'idika kaŋ] as 16.2. (being the youngest member of the relevant set of Alters)
- 16.3. ['nenawt kaŋ] B (for female Ego), Z (for female Ego)

16.4.	['nɛnawt 'ɛlaʔ]	MBS, MZS (for female Ego), MBD, MZD (for male Ego)
16.4.1.	['nɛnawt 'ɛla 'idama]	as 16.4. (when > A ₁ , A ₂ , etc.)
16.4.2.	['nɛnawt 'ɛla 'idika]	as 16.4. (when < A _x , A _y , etc.)
17.	['nɛlammi]	MBC (i.e. the children of M's ['lamta], see 28.)
18.	['nɛmalemi]	FZC (i.e. the children of F's ['dummale], see 29.)
19.	['nɛlam]	H
20.	['nɛmaleʔ]	W
20.1.	['nɛmaleʔ 'idama]	W(1th)
20.2.	['nɛmaleʔ 'idika]	W(2th)
21.	['nɛnabɛn]	any affine of Ego's gener- ation
21.1.	['nɛnabɛn lam]	W(1th/2th)B, HB, HZH, ZH (for male and female Ego, see 21.2. and 22.); HFZS, HFBS, HMZS, HMBS, WFZS, WFBS, WMZS, WMBS
21.1.1.	['nɛnabɛn lam 'idama]	WeB, HeB, HeZH, yZH, etc.
21.1.2.	['nɛnabɛn lam 'idika]	WyB, HyB, HyZH, YZH, etc.
21.2.	['nɛnabɛn 'male]	W(1th/2th)Z, WBW, BW(for male Ego), etc.
21.2.1.	['nɛnabɛn 'male 'idama], etc.	W(1th/2th)eZ, WeBW, We/yBW (1th), eBW (for male Ego) (also: e/yBW(1th) (for male Ego), etc.
22.	['nɛnoy]	HZ, BW (for female Ego)
22.1.	['nɛnoy 'idama]	HeZ, eBW; BW(1th) (for female Ego)
22.2.	['nɛnoy 'idika]	HyZ, yBW; BW(2th) (for female Ego)
23.	['nɛmot-]	HBW, WZH; HW
23.1.	['nɛmot- 'idama]	HeBW, WeZH (also He/yBW(1th))
23.2.	['nɛmot- 'idika]	HyBW, WyZH (also He/yBW(2th))

24.	['nedum]	ZC, BC, FBCC, FZCC, HBC, HZC, HMZCC, HFZCC, MBCC, MZCC, WBC, WZC, HMBCC, etc.
24.1.	['nedum lam]	as 24. (when male)
24.1.1.	['nedum lam 'idamα]	as 24.1. (when > A ₁ , A ₂ , etc.) etc.)
24.1.2.	['nedum lam 'idika]	as 24.1. (when < A _x , A _y , etc.)
24.2.	['nedum 'male], etc.	as 24. (when female), etc.
24.3.	['nedum kan]	C
24.4.	['nedum 'idamα]	as 24. (when > A ₁ , A ₂ , etc.)
24.4.1.	['nedum 'idamα kan]	the oldest member of the relevant set of Alters (i.e. all relatives one generation < Ego)
24.5.	['nedum 'idika]	as 24. (when < A _x , A _y , etc.)
24.5.1.	['nedum 'idika kan]	the youngest member of the relevant set of Alters
24.6.	['nedum 'samami]	as 24. (when > A ₁ and < A _x)
25.	['newo 'masI si'lan]	adoptive child
26.	['nenatakα]	any affine one generation > or < Ego
26.1.	['nenatakα lam]	as 26. (when male)
26.1.1.	['nenatakα lam 'idamα], etc.	as 26.1. (when > A ₁ , A ₂ , etc.)
26.2.	['nenatakα 'male]	as 26. (when female)
27.	['neben]	Ego's siblings' and children's ['yenatakα]
27.1.	['neben lam]	as 27. (when male)
27.2.	['neben 'male]	as 27. (when female)
28.	['lamtα] or ['dumlam]	any relative of Ego's generation living in/near the domicile of his/her father and, when married, the members of his/her conjugal family (with exception of the (virilocally) married daughter(s) (for married female Ego with virilocal domicile)

29. ['dum(')maɬʔ] any married female relative of Ego's generation plus her conjugal family living in/near the domicile of her husband's father (for male Ego, for unmarried female Ego, for married female Ego who stays with her husband and children in/near her father's domicile (see 8.3.2.))
30. ['kila 'samɛ] all (living and deceased) married female clan members with their conjugal family
31. ['nɛli 'nɛtaman] all (living and deceased) male and female clan members
32. ['nɛtiben 'wayma] S(male child) SS, SSS, etc., and BS, BSS, BSSS, etc., and FBSS, FBSSS, FBSSSS, etc. etc. (for male Ego). (Affectional term used for younger boys only (up to approximately ten years)).

8.4.2. Semantic Oppositions

The following semantic oppositions are attested for the Woisika kinship terms:

1. **Generational distance:** 0, 1 or more generations removed from Ego.

E.g.: ['nɛpa] (1-), ['nɛnataka] (1- or 1+), ['nɛtam] (2- or 2+), ['nɛkak-] (0), etc.

2. **Ascending-descending:**

['nɛpa] (1-), ['nowko] (1-), ['nɛdum] (1+), etc.

3. **Senior-junior:** relative age levels within the same generation.

There are several relations in Woisika:

3.1. Alter is ± senior to Ego ($A > E$, $A < E$, respectively)

['nɛnaka] ($A > E$), ['nɛkak-] ($A < E$)

3.2. Alter is ± senior to one (or more) other Alter(s) defined by the same set of semantic basic features ($A > A_1, A_2$, etc., $A < A_x, A_y$, etc., respectively)

['nɛnaka 'idama] ($A > E$ and $> A_1, A_2$, etc.)

['nɛnaka 'idika] ($A > E$ and $< A_x, A_y$, etc.)

3.3. Relator I is \pm senior to one (or more) other Relators I defined by the same set of semantic basic features ($RI > RI_1, RI_2$, etc., $RI < RI_x, RI_y$, etc., respectively). By Relator I is meant the last capital but one in the formula, e.g.: FBW.

3.3.1.1. ['nenaben lam 'idama] eZH ($RI > RI_1, RI_2$, etc.)

3.3.1.2. ['nenaben lam 'idika] yZH ($RI < RI_x, RI_y$, etc.)

3.3.2.1. ['nemot 'idama] WeZH ($RI > RI_1, RI_2$, etc.)

3.3.2.2. ['nemot 'idika] WyZH ($RI < RI_x, RI_y$, etc.)

The difference between 3.3.1. and 3.3.2. is that in the first $RI > E$ or $RI < E$, whereas in the latter $RI > RII$ or $RI < RII$. By RII is meant the third last capital in the formula, e.g.: FBW

3.4. Alter is \pm senior to Relator I ($A > RI, A < RI$).

['nenaben 'male 'idama] WeZ for male Ego ($A > RI$)

['nenaben 'male 'idika] WyZ for male Ego ($A > RI$)

4. Sex: male-female

['nepa] (m), ['nedum lam] (m), ['netiben 'wayma] (m), ['nowko] (f), ['nedum 'male?] (f), etc.

5. Sexequivalence between Ego and Alter

['nenamuk-] (+), ['nenoy] (+), ['nemot-] (+), ['nenawt-] (-), ['nelam] (-), etc.

6. Member of Ego's nuclear family

['nowko ka] (+), ['nedum ka] (+), ['nowko 'ela?] (-), ['nedum] (-), etc.

7. Consanguinal-affinal

['nowko 'nepa ka] (c), ['nenataka] (a), etc.

8. Agnatic-uterine

['nemalemi] (a), ['nepa] (a), ['nelammi] (u), ['nepa 'ela?] (u), etc.

9. Marital status and/or domicile

['dummale]

10. Alive-deceased

['netam 'nesu] (d), ['nemaysi tuk- 'nebakA ka'ra] (d)

8.4.3. Marking of Features

The following features are expressed by markers:

sex [lam] 'male', ['maɛʔ] 'female'. These features are added to Alters when sex is not implicit.

nuclear [(naon)/(naox)kan], general meaning: 'right (hand side)'. It is also used as an emphatic, see for example: 13.1.1. and 14.1.

uterine ['ɛlaʔ], general meaning: 'left (hand side)'. In MH(2th) (when ≠ F), FW(2th) (when ≠ M) it means 'step..'.
 A noun denoting kinship and combined with ['ɛlaʔ] is semantically marked since ['ɛlaʔ] is restricted to non-agnatic Alters. It is in opposition with its unmarked alternant (in Ø) which applies to any alter of the relevant set and to the Alters of the subset defined by the feature 'agnatic':

['nskak 'ɛlaʔ] Ego's younger uterine relative(s) of the same generation.

['nskak-] a) Ego's younger relative(s) of the same generation,
 b) Ego's younger agnatic relative(s) of the same generation.

nuclear plus ascending [sAk-], general meaning: 'grown-up'. It is often used as a honorific.

senior/junior

See 8.4.2. sub 3 and compare also:

['nemalɛ 'idamɑ] Ego's first (living) wife

['nemalɛ 'idika] Ego's second (living) wife

['nowkɔ 'idamɑ] Ego's stepmother (FW(1th) when ≠ M)

['nowkɔ 'idika] Ego's stepmother (FW(2th) when ≠ M)

['nowkɔ 'idamɑ] FB's first (living) wife

['nowkɔ 'idika] FB's second (living) wife

It becomes clear from the instances given in 8.4.2. and those mentioned above that the use of ['idamɑ], ['idika] is highly ambiguous, e.g.:

['nowkɔ 'idamɑ] is identified by (a) FeZ, (b) FeBW, (c) FBW(1th), (d) FW(1th) when ≠ M.

When there are more than two Alters in a set defined by the same basic features the Woisika have resource to ['samami] for the middle of a set of three Alters (see e.g. 13.3.), and to ordinal numbers when the set consists of more than three Alters: ['nenakɑ 'yɛsuʔ], 'the third..', ['nenakɑ 'yɛbiɟat-], 'the fourth..', etc.

8.5. DEATH AND BURIAL RITUALS

The Woisika is afraid of the dead. The spirits of the deceased come to him in his dreams. They are quickly angered and dissatisfied, they make their influence easily felt. The Woisika offers them an impressive series of rituals in order to soothe and to honour them. It is believed that the souls of the dead finally go to the island of Sikka ['aŋsi pɑ'taktɑ] (east of the Kabola peninsula). The festivities provide the dead with all the necessary material equipment for his trip and his after-life.

8.5.1. The Burial Procedure

The whole burial procedure consists of the following phases:

1. the activities shortly before and after the death
2. a small series of rituals called ['ɑyfan ki'diŋ] 'small festivities':

['yɛsibay bɛh]	'to sow seeds'
[yɛŋ 'wɔmɔh]	'to heighten the grave'
['yɛbeytɑ fun]	'to take his maize'
['maytɑ pɔŋ 'wɔbA]	'to make a lego-lego place'
[ku'rɔŋ ka'rɪ 'wɔbA]	'to build a gong house'
3. a series of bigger rituals called ['ɑyfan 'samami] 'the middle festivities':

[ka'tAy pil]	'to accompany the corpse'
['tubɔŋ lih 'batɑ 'wɔbA]	'the death ship'
[ɑ't0key 'latsɪŋ]	'to erect a bamboo'
['fɔtbuh 'manɛ tah]	'to wrap up the dead'
['manɛ 'latsɪŋ]	'the village stands up'
4. the final ceremony [ɑ't0 bAy]:

[i'seytu 'wɔbA]	'to make the slaughter-place'
[pɛ 'idɛʔ]	'to roast the pigs'
[i'pɔmɑ 'nuɣA tɑ'wah]	'to collect the possessions of the dead'
['ɔliŋ batɑ gɑ's0ran]	'to push the ship'
[kaw ɑ'bah]	'to dance ceremonial lego-lego'
[si'bay kAh mɛ 'yɛn]	'the offering of the seeds'

Below a short description is offered of the different phases.

8.5.2. Phase One: Activities Shortly Before and After Death

When a parent is dying his/her female married children return to their parental home and bring a sarong [kɛŋ] or selimut [n0ŋ] and rice, meat, etc. for the funeral rituals. The death in the village is

announced by the wailing of the women and continual sounding of the big gongs. The man who is responsible for the organization of the funeral (i.e. the eldest male child or if there are no male children, the eldest female child (with husband)), dresses in the ritual ['aŋnək-], called ['sAfuy (bAy)] and goes to ask for help. He asks for: a sarong or selimut ['aŋbiɟat-] (depending on whether the deceased is his father or his mother), a pig, rice, sirih pinang, maize, etc.

An already married son goes to the ['lamtə] of his wife, especially to his WB. If they do not want to help him or when his wife does not have any brothers, he turns to his WFB or when this person is already dead, to WFBS. When no one of the above mentioned are able to help him, he may ask anybody from his wife's village for the necessary objects. Should he return with nothing achieved there are two other possibilities: when the deceased is his mother he calls on her ['lamtə], when it is his father, he goes to this father's ['yɛpə 'ɛlaʔ], i.e. one of the ['lamtə] of his own mother. When the child is unmarried he usually asks for help from the ['lamtə] of his mother. It rarely occurs that he must turn to the husband of his older sister.

Each clan uses for the wrapping of the corpse its own type of cloth, prescribed by tradition. Some use a [kɛŋ] or [n0ŋ] from Kiramang, others from Kolana, and so on. Though nowadays the death clothes are kept apart, just in case, an unexpected death may present the relatives with great trouble and high expense. In fact, they are not allowed to bury the corpse before they obtain the right cloth.

Moreover, after the funeral they have to pay the helper (who gives them everything mentioned above) the following goods in return:

1. [kə'pɔraŋ] a kind of arrow
2. [kə'fə ʔ'bah] a small mokko (e.g. ['pikuʔ])
3. ['yɛkaw pɛ] a young pig or goat
4. [gə'miŋ gə'pahsi] a [kɛŋ 'aŋək-] or [n0ŋ 'aŋək-]
5. [pA gə'ret-] a machete
6. ['yɛkaw] a mokko (e.g. ['tawmi])
7. [ay'malaʔ] a mokko (type: [ay'malaʔ])

When the son borrows only a pig, or a cloth, the price will be reduced according to what was lent to him.

The oldest child has the right to wrap up the deceased parent in the cloth which he has probably already reserved for that purpose: a [kɛŋ] for his mother a [n0ŋ] for his father. According to the custom of the clan he puts a coin in the hand of the deceased and swathes him first in the blanket on which he died and then in the [kɛŋ] or [n0ŋ]. During this ceremony he and the other relatives ask the deceased not to

be angry with them, not to come back to pester them and so on. In former days the corpse was then thrown into the grave, or more carefully, it was tied in foetal position and placed by the [i'poma] 'handcrafts man, specialist' into a round hole. Nowadays a plain wooden coffin is used. A pig is paid to the man who made the coffin, another to the grave-digger. According to my older informants it occurred that because of lack of money or the right cloth, the corpse was packed in a sort of bamboo case and placed in the cabin of the [a'l'maŋ bAy]. There it stayed until the living could not stand the bad smell anymore. The corpse of an important person, e.g. the head of the clan, was buried near the ['mayta'] the other men at the village boundary; the women outside the village.

After the funeral the children divide their contributions (called [gat'olin]) and those of friends, neighbours and relatives. The gifts of the eldest child have already been used to wrap up the deceased. That of the second child forms the first of a whole series of gifts to those relatives of the deceased who are called his/her ['kɔbɔ?]. The word means, approximately, 'the roots of the Cassava' (a plant which breaks its roots when it is fully grown). The gifts are meant to symbolize and to guarantee to the relatives of the dead that although the linking person between the two clans has died (the root broken), the relationship will not be terminated. The ['kɔbɔ?'] of the mother is her brother (i.e. her children's ['yɛpa 'ɛla?]), that of the father his ['yɛpa 'ɛla?'] (i.e. FMB).

During the phases of the burial rituals the ['kɔbɔ?'] must be honoured and gifts will be sent to him. The ['yɛpa 'ɛla?'] is preferred because he is a permanent element in the village of the mother, or grandmother, respectively; when there is no brother, it may be offered to MF, FMF, respectively or, if he is no longer alive, to MFB or MFBS, FMFB, FMFBS, respectively.

The second child gives a selimut or a sarong (depending on the sex of the deceased) to his or her father's ['yɛpa 'ɛla?']. The third gives a [kɛŋ] or a [nɔŋ] to the [i'poma].

8.5.3. Phase Two: The ['ay faŋ k'idin] 'small festivities'

A series of five smaller festivities (rituals) is organized, the first usually a week after the interment, the second forty days after the first. The last three are not tied to a particular time. The whole cycle is very expensive and the speed with which the rituals are carried out depends on the wealth of the ['dummalɛ?'] and the ['lamta]. Usually these rituals are held for more than one deceased, and it is common use that other clans from the same village participate in the

festivities in order to bid farewell to their own dead. The first five festivities are not very expensive and predominantly paid for by the [lamta]: it costs a few bins of rice and a small pig only. The function of each ritual is not always clear, e.g. the name of the first one [yesibay bəh] means 'to sow millet' (BI menghambur deli), but the informants did not know what it stands for. The aim seems to be to obtain from the dead the guarantee that the living will be left in peace.

[yən'wəməh] 'to heighten the grave': stones are gathered and piled up on the grave.

[yEbeyta fun] a few bins of rice are husked and eaten.

[maytapən 'wəbA] since in most cases a lego-lego place already exists the relatives confine themselves to another feast meal.

[ku'rən ka'rI 'wəbA] this ritual is often held together with the preceding.

When necessary the gonghouse is repaired or rebuilt in anticipation of the [α't0 bAy].

8.5.4. Phase Three: The [ayfan 'samami] 'middle festivities'

A series of bigger ceremonies [ayfan 'samami] follows. In view of the high expenses and the enormous amount of rice and meat which will be consumed during the next phases, the members of the respective clans begin to clean and cultivate the clan garden(s), [miIA bAy], and to breed pigs, goats, etc. Before they begin to work in the gardens and after the harvest they dance the obligatory lego-lego.

[ka'tAy pil]: A stone is taken from the grave and while the gongs are sounded it is brought to the [mayta?]. A chicken and a dog are carried in the procession: the chicken is afterwards killed and eaten. The respective functions of the animals are unclear. They are said to symbolize the deeds of the deceased. The stones represent the souls of the dead and they are wrapped in cloth and after the feast buried together in a hole in the [mayta?] in the neighbourhood of the [mayta 'yekamən] 'the site of the ancestors'. The dead relatives are now all home again and they are asked to prepare themselves for their final departure. When a Woisika died far from his homeland, e.g. in Kalabahi, his relatives have to go carrying a chicken to the place where he is said to be interred in order to obtain a stone. When they cannot find the spot they are expected to bring back an arbitrarily chosen stone from the area.

[tubənlih 'bata 'wəbA]: Now the death-ship is made which will help the souls to cross the sea from [α't0 bAy] to the island of Sikka. It

is allowed to use one which has previously served the same purpose. This little ship is approximately two meters long and elaborately decorated, coloured in white, red and black and is provided with as many compartments as there are participating clans. The makers get the traditional reward, a pig.

[a'tOkey 'latsɪŋ]: During this ritual which must be executed no longer than two years before the [α'tObAy] a bamboo container is erected on the ['mayta?]. Pigs, chickens and other animals are killed and prepared in bamboo containers ([bα'lɛŋ] see 3.2.1.). Any other way of preparation is prohibited. The participants receive two containers each: one with rice, another with a mixture of bananas and meat.

[fɔt buh 'manɛtah]: the Woisika used to be headhunters. This did not always guarantee them a fitting interment. Those who died during their headhunting raids or, in the colonial period working as conscripted labour for the Dutch, were not buried in the traditional death-cloth. This phase is particularly dedicated to them and a [kɛŋ] or [nOŋ] is offered to the ['kɔbɔ?] and the [i'pɔmɔ]

['manɛ 'latsɪŋ]: During a period of approximately one month the male members of the organizing ['ataman] leave the village in their ['sAfuy] and in full fighting outfit to ask for help in the village of their relatives and friends. They post themselves near (one of) the ['mayta?] and are traditionally not allowed to sit down or to go away before they have received a contribution from a member of the ['ataman] to whom the lego-lego place belongs.

8.5.5. Phase Four: The Final Ceremony [α'tO bAy]

Returned from their trips the men begin with the preparation for the main phase, the [α'tO bAy]. They build a platform on poles ([i'seytu]) where the meat will be divided. Then the relatives, friends and guests are called and lots are cast to establish the proper date to begin the rituals. During the day preceding the [pɛ 'ide?] the pigs are brought to the ['mayta?]. Each ['lamta] gives at least one pig for every deceased relative. The pigs are dedicated to the dead; the name of each of them is called out and the number of pigs reserved for him is announced. The next day the [pɛ 'ide?] begins: the animals are killed on the ['mayta?]. The blood is caught in bamboo containers, the meat is roasted lightly and brought to the [i'seytu] to be cut into pieces. The hindquarters including the tail is reserved for the ['kɔbɔ?], the rest of the meat is divided into quadrangular pieces and impaled on wooden skewers. Every man gets a skewer with three pieces of different sized meat, e.g. 30 x 30, 20 x 20, 7 x 7 cm.; to the heads

of the ['ataman] bigger pieces are offered. In addition skewers are delivered to all men in the nearby villages. The women get a small bamboo container with a mixture of blood [wɛ], intestines ['yɛsila], fat [bi'laɤa] and kidneys ['yɛfusa], which have been prepared according to the [ba'laɛn] method (see 3.2.1.). Those female guests who stay and sleep in the village receive in addition a part of the liver ['yɛtamuy] and the breast [gɔ'lii]. The distribution of the meat and its delivery takes about two days.

After a short interval (two days) the [i'pɔma 'nuɤA] takes place. The meat reserved for the ['kɔbɔ'] is placed on the ['mayta']. For each of the deceased there is:

1. [gɔ'taynɔk-] one hindquarter (i.e. two legs and tail)
2. ['yɛkuɪ] a part of the skin
3. [bi'laɤa] a part of the fat
4. [gɔ'kɪnɔk-] one foreleg

The rice from the ['mɪla bAy] which has been kept in stock in the [aɪ'maɪ bAy] is placed in bins on top of the meat together with a great number of [kɔ] 'Cassava'. The meat is then dedicated to the dead and brought to their ['kɔbɔ'] with one bin of rice and several cassavas.

Four or six days after the delivery of the gifts the ['ɔlin bAta gɔ'sɔran] begins. The jawbones of the pigs and the goats which were slaughtered during all the preceding festivities are piled up in the death-ship, together with the antlers which hang in the interior of the [aɪ'maɪ bAy]. The final preparations for the departure are now made: the women husk rice and prepare meals for the dead. The necessary utensils are gathered: spoons, knives, dishes, sirih pinang-baskets, lime boxes, pans, water-containers, etc., and are placed in the compartments of the boat by the guests from the neighbouring villages. Hereupon the men lift the boat and carry it four or six times around the ['mayta'] followed in dead silence by all those present. A man carries a dog with him in the procession and pinches the animal continuously so that it keeps howling plaintively. Then, as the men slowly walk away with the boat in the direction of the village boundary the old precentor starts his incantation. I give a short paraphrase (see Appendix 2 for the phonetic transcription):

..... that this mokko Makassar and this smooth mouthed gong may serve you as canes, and let the big rice container be your headgear. Now that you are leaving us [to go to ['aɪsi pɔ'taktɔ]] do not turn yourselves into fishes or snails because if you become fishes or snails men will catch you and eat you. Now that you are leaving

do not turn yourselves into limestone or drift-wood because men will come and make lime out of you to chew with their sirih-pinang, or salt to mix with their red peppers. Now that you are leaving do not turn yourselves into a deer or a pig, because men will shoot you with arrows and eat you. Better that you become a bird then, a ['kumrit-], a [lAŋ'wilin] a ['tintapɔk] or a [ma'rahley] or a snake, a ['sɔal] or a ['manuman]. Thus when I leave my village and see a snake resting on a bamboo I'll be sure that it is my mother or father. Or when I go to my gardens and find a [lAŋ'wilin] there, I'll know that it is my parents who are greeting me by flying up and down.¹⁷

During this incantation the old man describes in all detail the route the dead have to take and tells them that the souls of all present will accompany them on their last trip. He mentions their halting-places and where they have to embark for ['ansi pə'taktə]. Hereafter the death-ship is placed on the boundary of the village (where strangers from other villages already wait to loot it) and the participants return to the ['mayta?] to establish the day for the ritual lego-lego (about four to six days after the ['ɔlin bəta ga's0ran]). At the beginning of this lego-lego all sorts of songs are sung but at a given moment all cease singing and the ['pilan 'ɛla?] begins his second incantation. Nobody speaks a single word and during two or three hours they dance without a pause, stamping their feet and listening to the old man who sings of the dead, their lives, of Sikka, of their grief and sorrows, of the history of the Woisika and then he demands the dead to go away. After a week the [kaw α'bah] begins. It means 'to pull off/out the arrow' and symbolizes that the relation between the living and the dead is broken. Another lego-lego is performed and the ['pilan 'ɛla?] then summons the souls of the living who accompanied the dead to the island of Sikka to come back. He asks them not to stay any longer and describes exactly their way back to the village. Early in the morning the older women go home where they strew rice husks [kɛ] on their heads and they start to dance a lego-lego together (called [la'kawka]). At sunrise everybody stops dancing and the women examine their hair looking for maize, rice or other seed which are considered to be the return gifts of the dead (called [si'nan wa'n0]). This seed is mixed with the sowing seed and is said to guarantee an abundant harvest. Then millet [si'bay], peas [kAx] and kenari nuts [ka'nal] are strewn on the ['mayta?] and distributed under the dancers. The ['pilan 'ɛla?] receives money and a branch of Areca nuts and a gong or mokko in addition. This is the moment that the dead have really left the village and now the gongs are

beaten and, relieved, the men begin to dance the ['maytə 'kurɛ], the war dance. During the dance they mention the names of the deceased without fear and say that there is no reason to come back: their offspring is able to replace them now.

Thereafter the ['lamtə] go home to offer [kAh], [si'bay] and [ka'nal] to the sacred objects (['Osəŋ pA]) in the [al'məŋ bAy] (gongs and morkos) and ask for a safe return of the ['dummalɛʔ] and a happy life for all the participants ([si'bay kAx mɛ 'yɛn]). The next morning lots are cast to establish the day on which the ['dummalɛʔ] may go back: the rituals are over.¹⁸

N O T E S

1. Stress marking in this paper conforms to the principles of the International Phonetic Association, and differ slightly from the system used in Stokhof 1975.
2. The fieldwork was undertaken with the aid of the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (project W-38-7) and was conducted under the auspices of the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia and the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (Jakarta). This article owes a great deal to my colleague Dr H. Steinhauer.
3. I do not include the languages spoken by small colonies of people who quite recently settled here, e.g., Buton, Bugis, Makasar.
4. Geographic data, names, etc. have been written according to the Indonesian orthography. When necessary, the Woisika pendant has been added in phonetic transcription. The following symbols are used for the vowel system:

	F		C		B	
	tense	lax	tense	lax	tense	lax
High	I	i, ɪ			U	u, ʊ
Mid	e				o	
Low	E	ɛ		a	0	ɔ
Lower-low	ae		A	α	ao	

e.g.: [yɛŋ] 'his eye(s)' vs. [yɛŋ] 'he; who' vs. [yaɛŋ] 'to differ'.
 [˘] on a vowel symbolises 'shortness'. Consonants followed by a hyphen are unreleased: [p-, t-, k-]. Notational differences, e.g.

[*'maɪɛ*] and [*'maɪɛʔ*], [*ka'rɪ*] and [*ka'dɪ*] are due to the fact that the informants came from different areas.

5. Based on the map printed by the (A)rmy (M)ap (S)ervice (LN), Washington D.C. (1942). Compare also the map in Anonymous 1914.
6. Compare Brouwer 1935.
7. The Woisika language shows two noun classes: those which occur with obligatory possession markers which are prefixed to the noun denoting the object possessed (inalienables) and those which are not. The inalienables are restricted to kinship terms, names of bodyparts and names of parts of buildings. I give these nouns in the first person singular alternant (in [*n*]), in the third person alternant (in [*g/y*]) or in the first person plural inclusive alternant (in [*t*]), e.g.: [*'nɛpɑ*] 'my father', [*nɑ'taŋ*] 'my hand', [*'yɛpɑ*] 'his, her, it's their father', [*gɑ'taŋ/yɑ'taŋ*] 'his, etc. hand', [*'tɛpɑ*] 'our father', [*tɑ'taŋ*] 'our hand'.
8. See Vatter 1932, picture 69.
9. Compare pictures 60a and 60b in Vatter 1932.
10. See Van Der Hoop 1949, p.45.
11. See Vatter 1932, picture 57.
12. See Vatter 1932, picture 59, and Bouman 1943.
13. See *Verslag omtrent den toestand van het Museum voor Land en Volkenkunde en Maritiem Museum Prins Hendrik te Rotterdam* 42, picture II.
14. See Vatter 1932, p.234; Nicolspeyer 1940; Du Bois 1944 and Van Dalen 1928, (n.d.).
15. See for instance Nieuwenkamp 1919, 1925; Huyser 1931; Rouffaer 1918; Vatter 1932; Du Bois 1944; Nicolspeyer 1940 and Van Bekkum 1950/51.
16. In this context it is worth noting that recently (1972) a Heger type I drum has been uncovered in a hamlet called Ooi (in the neighbourhood of Kokar) on the west coast of the Kabola Peninsula (see Map I).

17. An annotated edition of Woisika texts with translation is in preparation.
18. The next paper will deal with phonetics and phonemics.

APPENDIX 1

Woisika Proper Names

A Masculine

'anbul
'anlaw
'anmay

a'sabesin
a'sabul
α'safA
α'sakamen
α'sakul
a'salAn
a'salaw
a'salet
a'samay
a'samal
a'samanI
a'samaw
a'samoy
asa'moyasa
α'saon
α'saonmay
a'saowfA
a'satakay
a'sata
a'sAtey
a'satija
a'sau
a'sawatε?

a'teytan
a'teybaw
a'teylaw
a'teymaw

Feminine

α'difA
α'dikamen
α'dilaw
α'dimay
α'dimaw
α'disa

B Masculine

'bilafA
'bilakawan
'bilamaw
'bilamO

F Masculine

'fAan
'fAbesin
'fAbila?
'fAkamen
'fAlaw
'fAlawh
'fAlε
'fAlεt-
'fAmay
'fAmaw
'fAmal
'fAmani
'fAmoy
'fAo

'fAon
'fAsa
'fAsilan
'fAtakay
'fAtan

Feminine

'fomaw

K

Masculine

ka'mawkuy
ka'mawlan

'kawnkamen

ka'menasα
ka'menbesin
ka'menfa
ka'menlaw
ka'menlet-
ka'menmay
ka'menmaw
ka'menmuy

ka'minlaw

ka'wanmani

Feminine

'kaymaw

ka'llinasα
ka'llinfA
ka'llinlaw
ka'llinmay
ka'llinon

ka'rilanmay
ka'rilanlan

'koylon

'kolasa
'kolfa
'kollan
'kolmaw

L

Masculine

'lahfA
'lahmaw

'layhlaw
'layhmaw

'lanay
'lanasa
'lanasa
'lanfa
'lankamεn
'lanlaw
'lanlet-
'lanmay
'lanmaw
'lantakay
'lanwatε
'lanwO

'lawdika 'lawfA 'lawhfA 'lawhlan 'lawhlaw 'lawhlet- 'lawhmaw 'lawkamən 'lawlawh 'lawlan 'lawle 'lawmay 'lawman 'lawmaw 'lawmɔy 'lawpay 'lawsama 'lawtakay 'lawtan 'lawway 'lawwan 'laww0	M Masculine 'mayfA 'maykaman 'maylaw 'maylawh 'maylet- 'maymalkamən 'mayman 'maysama 'maytakay 'maytan 'maytiɔ ma'kanlaw ma'kanlawh ma'kanlet- ma'kansay ma'kilinlaw ma'kilinsina 'malasa 'malfA 'mallan 'mallaw 'mallet- 'malmani 'malon ma'netlaw ma'nilan ma'nilet ma'nimaw 'maɔn 'marin 'mAsa 'mawbesin 'mawkamən 'mawkaw 'mawlaw 'mawlawh 'mawlet- 'mawman 'mawmaw 'mawmɔy 'mawsama 'mawtakay 'mawtan 'mawway 'mɔymaw 'mɔysina 'muykamən 'muylet-	'muylan 'muymay Feminine ma'taymay ma'taylaw 0 Masculine 'ɔfA 'ɔmaw 'ɔmawkamən 'ɔnasa 'ɔnbəsin 'ɔnbila 'ɔnfA 'ɔnkamən 'ɔnlan 'ɔnlaw 'ɔnlet- 'ɔnmay 'ɔnmal 'ɔnmani 'ɔnsama P Feminine 'puyadi 'puyasa 'puyatey 'puybila 'puyfA 'puykamən 'puykawan 'puylan 'puylaw 'puylet- 'puyman 'puymakilin 'puymənət- 'puymaw 'puymɔy 'puymuy 'puysal 'puytan	S Masculine 'salar 'salbila 'salkamən 'salkidin 'sallaw 'sallet- 'sallubuy 'salmani 'salmaruk- 'salmaw 'salmɔy 'sinalet- 'sinamaw Feminine si'lAbila si'lAkaman si'lAlay si'lAlaw si'lAlet- si'lAmay si'lAmaw si'lAmanət- si'lAɔ si'lAtan si'lɔlaw si'nanadi si'nanfA si'nankaman si'nanlan si'nanlaw si'nanlet- si'nanway 'sɔyfA 'sɔylaw 'sɔymuy 'sunasa 'sunfA 'sunlan 'sunlaw 'sunmaw 'sunon 'suntan
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Feminine

'lokamən
'lɔlan
'lɔmaykamən
'lɔmaylaw
'lɔmaw

lon

'lonasa
'lonley
'lonbila
'lonfA
'lonkamən
'lonlaw
'lonlet-
'lonman
'lonmaw
'lontan

T

Masculine

'taŋasɑ
'taŋlaw
'taŋmɑnɛt-
'taŋmaw
'taŋɔn

Feminine

'talɬA
'talkɑmɛŋ
'talkɑwɑŋ
'tallɑŋ
'tallaw
'tallɛt-
'tallmay
'talmɑnɛt-
'talmɑni
'talmaw
'talmɔy
'taltɑŋ

W

Masculine

'wɔɬA
'wɔɬɑ
'wɔɬɛt-
'wɔmay
'wɔmaw
'wɔtey

Feminine

'wɔyɑsɑ
'wɔyɬA
'wɔylɑŋ
'wɔylaw
'wɔylɛt-
'wɔymay
'wɔymaw
'wɔymuy

'wɔɬbɪlɑ
'wɔɬɬA
'wɔɬlɑŋ
'wɔɬɬɛt-
'wɔɬmal
'wɔɬmaw
'wɔɬtɑŋ

APPENDIX 2

Woisika Text in Phonetic Transcription

[maka'sera ga'wA ta'tok- 'tekanɔa 'esikAnɪŋ, 'Asay 'bAya wa'tɪlakowna
'edA. α'feuna α'bey fe 'abda 'inamanɔa?, 'alma 'elaka 'esafa ga'tan.
α'fe 'inaman kul 'batabon ka'rAda?, 'alma al 'mE tAn 'lUKa i'lanɪɪa
ba'kA 'bika?. α'fe 'peɔa 'awhdanɔbɔ, 'alma 'eka 'ekapɔran ga'sao.
a'hak α'feuna, α'fe 'kumurit lAn'wilɪŋ, 'tɪntapɔk- 'marahley, α'fe
'soal 'manumay. 'ante 'nAbah na'wehe 'mane lu'buymidaha, na'wAwansa
'kumebo ka'tAntA 'dɪɪa nal 'lɔmsak- 'kume 'piɪAwba?, 'elak- 'nowko
'nepaw. na'yA 'nemilAmidanɔbɔ 'nAbah 'lɔmte 'nemilA 'yewuy 'nAte 'nemilA
f0m'wɔranɔbɔ, 'kumrit- 'lAnwilɪŋ gal we 'bɔntuktA ga'mArasa 'nAbah
nal na'wAwansite α'tey 'piɪAkowba?, 'elak- 'nowko 'nepa yEn na'mɪntAw,
na'mɪn 'tAntute?, na'mɪn 'yAnfufe?.]

APPENDIX 3

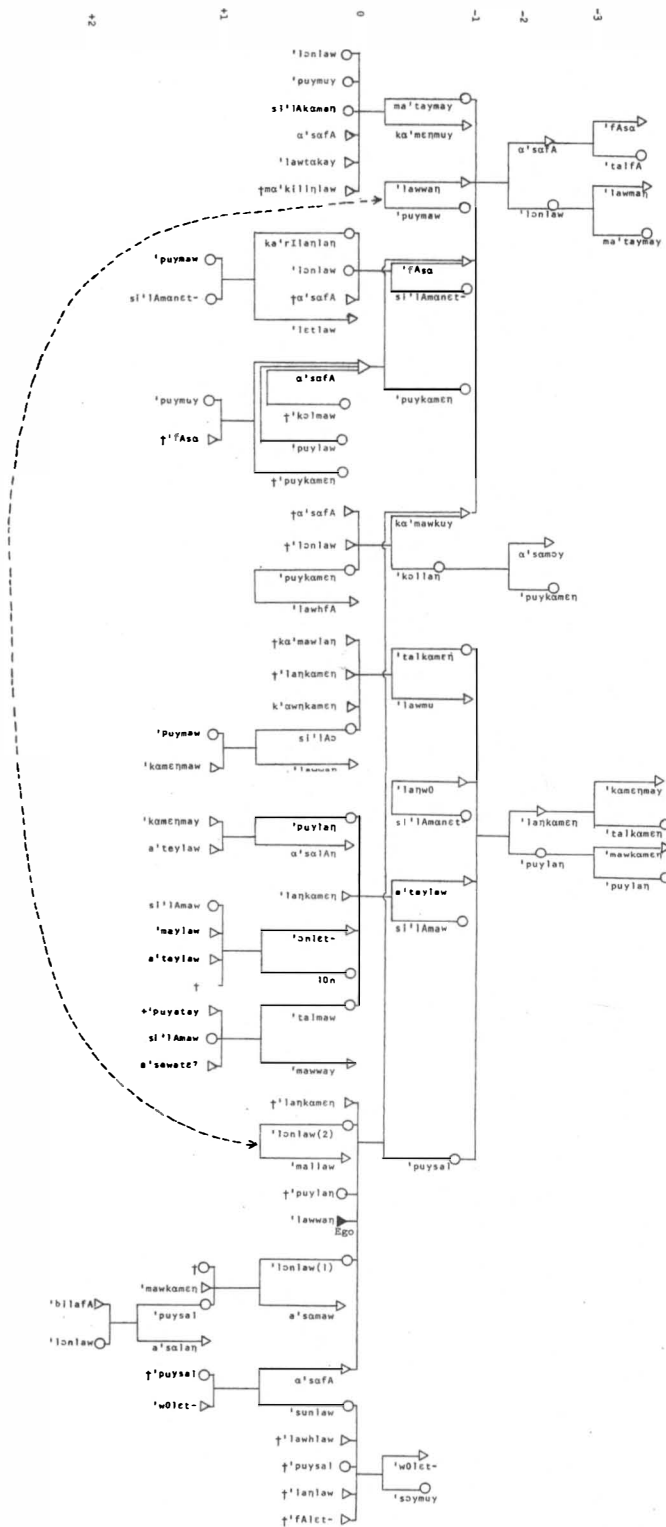
Family Tree of Andreas Asafa

Andreas Asafa (Adat name: ['lawwan] see section 8.2.)

Note: 'lonlaw (1) takes her name from her father's mother
'lonlaw (2) was given to the childless older brother
of ka'mawkuy: 'lawwan. The latter automatically
named her also after his mother.

Ego is called after the older brother of his father
because the name threatened to be lost.

† : deceased.



APPENDIX 3



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Abbreviations: *BijdrTLV*: *Bijdragen tot de taal-land-en Volkenkunde*
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